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The English Conquest of Ireland.

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Original Series.

107



The

English Conquest of Ireland.

л. д. 1166–1185.

MAINLY FROM THE 'EXPUGNATIO HIBERNICA' OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS.

3 Parallel Text

FROM

MS. Trinity College, Dublin, E. 2, 31, about 1425 A.D.
 MS. Rawlinson, B. 490, Bodleian Library, about 1440 A.D.

PART I. THE TEXT.

EDITED BY

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RT. HON. WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, M.P.

AND ALL WHO HAVE WORKT FOR

5

Justice to Freland

See opposite. Mr. Thomas Austin sends me some more forms worth notice in the Dublin MS. :—bethwen, between, 10/12; bolthenys, boldness, 75/15; ather, either, 100/3; ayse, ease, 148/1; behoud (?th), behoof, benefit, 112/30; culuertnesse, falseness, 126/31; cytteyns, citizens, 122/27; duri, door, 42/22; ense, ends, 80/29; fale (fele), many, 74/10; fobler, feebler, 68/6; forume, form, 39/12; ?heuedes (as in note), 14/17; hym priddesum, Greek auros $\tau\rho\iota\tau\sigma\sigma$, 14/1, 32/20; I-shwerne, sworn, 24/26; mich yuell, leprosy (comp. great pox), 32/7; neyght, nigh, 74/16; pynsynge (pinching), affliction, 88/6; rechest, reckest, 108/9; ruthlynge, ?rattling, 16/13; schavnge, change, 51/6; senne, synod, 120/15; senthe (?seuthe), seventh, 58/30; senfte, 59/30; soine, soon, 60/11; soldrys, shoulders, 89/11; sortely, shortly, 149/22; shechynge, seeking, 147/19.

FOREWORDS.

THE first manuscript of this interesting story of "oure knyghten gestes yn Irlande" (92/15), and of Henry II's Conquest of our sister Isle, was sent over to me from the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, by Dr. John K. Ingram, to be copied, printed, and edited by him for the Early English Text Society. He hoped to do his work at it during his July-September holiday (1893) in Scotland, on Loch Lomond, I having read his proofs with the MS. for him. But illness prevented him; and so I (as the Society's man-of-all-work) had to take the book up. Both the story told-mainly, though freely, from the Expugnacio Hibernica of Giraldus Cambrensis,-and the forms of the words, interested me. For the copier of the englisht text has often slipt into his own Irish dialect, specially in the use of d and t for th, and has written dynge¹ and tynge² for thing; drogh³ and trogh⁴ for through; day for they⁵; idrow (18/1) for thrown; tanked for thanked (14/19); tynke for think (6/26); toght for thought (16/25, 18/7); tough (as once in The Three King's Sons) for though (22/14); &c. At the same time he has used th for t and d: thedynge (10/7) and tythynge (6/15) for tidings; onther (6/31) for under; reut (8/1) for ruth; bethwen (10/12) for between; thwey (12/35) for two; herth (2/8, 13, 22/28) for heart; ibansheth (24/1) for banisht; Iendeth (22/16) for ended; smyth (24/12) for smite, &c. The copier has other peculiarities, both in the use of other consonants and vowels 6, which the reader will note as he goes along, and which will be collected for him in the Introduction by Dr. Douglas Bruce, of the Ladies College at Bryn Mawr, Philadelphia, that will form

 <sup>1 88/27; 134/13.
 2 4/14; 28/8; (</sup>no)tynge 8/12; 16/5; 20/9; &c.
 3 14/8.
 4 22/6, 7; 26/1, &c.
 5 10/19; 12/21; 24/10, 11.
 6 Both har' 128/20 doesn't at first look like But ere: still, you soon get accustomd to the scribe's little weaknesses. Harym, harm, is in the Rawlinson MS.
 143/12: cp. sarrif serve, in Misyn. E. E. T. Soc. The Southern infinitive in -y or -ye occurs in both MSS. 58/27, &c. For other odd spellings, see opposite.

Part II. of this book, when complete, and will no doubt be finisht in 1894, or '95.

As it was now and then hard to understand the Dublin text, and one nearer the standard tongue turnd up in the Rawlinson MS. B. 490-the MS. that contains one of Mr. Steele's text of the prose Secreta-I got Mrs. Parker to copy this Bodleian MS.¹, and the Clarendon Press to set it opposite the Dublin one. The comparison of the two versions is full of interesting points, as the Rawlinson is generally less archaic than the Dublin², while each helps to fill up the other's occasional leavings-out. There is at least one other MS. of the Conquest, the later one in Trinity College, Dublin, F. 4. 4, which is said to be a 16th century transcript of E. 2. 31. From it, an extract is given below, pp. xiv-xvi as a specimen. Doubtless, other MSS. of the text exist elsewhere. Luckily for us, the late Rev. Jas. F. Dimock re-edited the Expugnatio Hibernica in vol. v. (1867) Giraldi Cambrensis Opera in the Rolls Series of Chronicles and Memorials; and his notes, dates, and Preface have been of the greatest use to me. He says (p. xxix) that there are two editions, and perhaps a third, of the Expugnacio: (1) that in an early 13th century MS. at Lambeth, No. 371, "probably penned during Giraldus's lifetime" (p. xxxi), and in (R.) and (B.), MSS. Bibl. Reg. 13 B. viii in the British Museum, and Rawlinson B. 188 in the Bodleian. In treating the two latter MSS. as of the first cast of the work, Mr. Dimock neglects the marginal additions of the Royal MS. These additions make (2) the second version of the Expugnacio (pp. xxxii, xxxiv), shown in (R.), and MS. Ff. 1. 27, in the University Library, Cambridge, in which "there is one whole chapter, (also in our English, p. 38-40 below) the eighteenth of the first book-giving the account of the synod at Armagh in 1170, of which no other mention is known besides this,

 $^{^1}$ Mr. George Parker has collated the proofs with the MS. Mr. Thomas Austin has made the Glossary and Indexes to both Texts. Dr. Ingram wrote the English side-notes to the even pages 10-32, the I've alterd 2 or 3 of em.

 $^{^2}$ I suppose the first englishing now represented by the Dublin MS. was made in the 14th century.

in this chapter of Giraldus—which is not in Lambeth 371, but is in Bibl. Reg. 13 B. viii and Rawlinson B. 188."

We now come to the MS. of most interest to us, Harleian 177, for in it only (as I gather from Mr. Dimock's note 3, p. 236) is the original of one of our English bits on pp. 16, 18 below :---

Trin. Coll. Dublin, E. 2. 31.

A wonder was of that fantasye: A-morowe, whan it was day, the place ther this folk iseve smyten vpon ham, the wedes and the grase that stoden al euen vpright, thay lay alle idrow adoune, and icast to grond. | iacebant, & complanate.

Harl. 117, lf. 14, bk. 15.

Mirum autem fantasmate tali. quod in crastino die clarescente, in loco ubi uidebatur exercitus ille in ipsos irruisse, herbe & vrtice, que prius alte fuerant, & erecte, solotenus prostrate

For this, the other MSS., R. and B., have "primus hic miles, qui in hac insula niso mansueto et domesticato Nisi filiam infestavit."

On this Harleian 177, Mr. Dimock says, at p. xxxv of his **Preface**:

(it) "furnishes a copy of the Expugnatio which, so far as it goes,-it has many and large omissions-generally agrees closely with the text of this second edition. . . . The omissions are more especially of the extraneous matter, not relating to Ireland; but there is much curtailing also of Irish matter, when not directly historical. In the descriptions of the heroes, for instance, much often is left out; and in the orations which Giraldus puts into their mouths, still more. The compiler of it never condenses, but simply omits. In an oration . . . he will retain two or three sentences of the beginning, and two or three more of the end, with perhaps another or two out of the middle, if not very much less than all this, word for word as in the complete oration, without much care about connection or sense ... it certainly is only an abbreviation, such as I describe it."

This is just the case with our English text¹, though here and there it has bits not in Harl. 177. As to that MS., Mr. Dimock continues, pp. xxxv-vi:

"It generally agrees closely, as I have said, with the second ¹ It stops at chapter 34 of Book II (75 of our pages go to 171 of the Rolls Giraldus).

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edition, as in (R.) and (F.); but it exhibits a somewhat more advanced text. For instance, the word *Stadia* of (L)ambeth MS. occurs only twice instead of four times, out of eight as in (R)awlinson MS.: and instead of *Arcarii* always, as in the early manuscripts, it has the *Satellites equestres* of the later ones, in about half the instances where the words occur. And, moreover, in a few instances, it has a word or two that are not in the early manuscripts, but are in the later ones.

This manuscript has no note whatever as to its history; but it, or its original perhaps, would seem to have been written by one of the English settlers in Ireland, as it attempts occasionally, instead of Giraldus's Latin of all the other manuscripts, to give an English rendering of the Irish names. Thus, instead of *Murchardi filius*, or *Dermitius*, or *Murchardides*, it has 'Macmorthit' or 'Macmorhith'; instead of *Ororicius*, 'Oroch.' In one instance the writer appears to make a blunder in his Englishing: he renders *Otuethelis* 'Oneyl' instead of O'Toole. . . . It is not the work of a very correct scribe."

As a sample of the cutting-down, by Harl. 177, of Giraldus's descriptions of men, take the most trenchant instance, that of Henry II. In the Rolls edition, this description takes nearly six big octavo pages, Op. v. 301-6, the whole of Chapter 46, Book I. Leaving out the first page, Harl. 177 and the englisher start with the second, p. 302:

Expugn. Hibern. lib. i. cap. xlvi. Harl. MS. 177, lf. 44, bk. 45. Descripsio anglorum regis Henrici secundi.

Erat igitur anglorum rex, henricus secundus, uir sub-ruffus, cesius; amplo capite & rotundo; oculis glausis; ad iram toruis, & rubore suffusis; facie ignea; uoce quassa; collo ab humeris aliquantulum demisso; pectore quadrato; brachiis ualidis; corpore carnoso; Et nature magis, quam gule Dubl. MS. E. 2. 31. Page 88 below.

The kynge henry the other, was a mail saumrede, roune heed, & round grey egheid; roghly lokynge, & rede yn wreth; vysage rede bernynge, grete speche, neke somdel logh of þe sholdres, brest thyk, armes uicio, citra timorem [read tumorem] enormem & torporem omnem; moderata quadam immoderancia uentre peramplo. Erat enim cibo potuque modestus ac sobrius, & parsimonie quo-ad principi licuit, per omnia datus.

[Here a page and a quarter of the full text, Op. v. 302-3, is left out by Harl. 177, though our englisher gives a little of it'.]

Vrgentibus incomodis, nemo benignior: resumpta securitate, nemo rigidior. Acer in [in]domitos; clemens in subactos; Durus in domesticos; diffusus in extraneos; largus in publico; parcus in priuato.

¹ Et ut hanc naturae injuriam industria reprimeret ac mitigaret immoderata corpus vexatione torquebat sibi nec pacem ullam nec requiem indulgebat. Venationi namque trans modestiam deditus, summo diluculo equo cursore transvectus, nunc saltus lustrans, nunc silvas penetrans, nunc montium juga transcendens, dies ducebat inquietos : vespere vero domi receptum, vel ante coenam vel post, rarissime sedentem conspexeris. Post tanțas namque fatigationes, totam statione continua curiam lassare consueverat. staluarthe, of flesshy body; &, more of kynde than of glotony, grete of wombe; for he was, as to prynce belongeth, [of] mete, & of drynke ful meen & forberynge;

Whan any vnhappes hym befelle, noman meker; efte whan he was yn sekernesse, no man sterner. Suert ayeyn the bold, meke wyth ham that weren vnder y-broght, hard amonge hys owne, & priuely large amonge vnkouth.

&, for to a-quenche that gretnesse, he put hymself to ful mych trauaylle, that wnneth he lete hys body haue eny reste, ether by day other by nyght; ffor, wynter & somer, he arose euer more yn the dawnynge, & herd fyrst hys seruyce of holy chyrch; ther-aftyr, most what al be day he wold ben out, other wyth houndes other wyth hawkes, for yn thay two thynges he delyted hym swyth mych wythal; & vnnethe he wold ryde any amblynge hors, bot myche trottynge hors, for to trauaylle hys body the more. Aftyr al hys trauaylle a-day, vnnethe he lete hys body haue a lytell reste for to syte to hys mete the whyle that he eete; & anoon aftyr mete, & namely aftyr sopper, anoon he wold aryse & stonde, & so dryue forth al pe meste parte of the nyght, so that al be court was oft ennyede the?-of.

Quem semel exosum habuerat, uix in amorem; Quem semel amauerat, uix in odium reuocabat.

[Two-thirds of a page of the full text is here left out, on Henry's "extreme delight in falconry and hunting; his open violation of his marriage-vow; his untruthfulness; his dilatoriness in matters of justice; his simoniacal practises; his love of peace; his almsgiving, humility, &c."]

Humilitatis amator; nobilitatis opp*ressor*, & superbie calcator.

[Nearly two pases of the full text are here left out, on Henry's "usurpations in things of God; his inattention to divine service; his seizures of the revenues of vacant churches; his treatment of his sons; his wonderful memory," &c., &c.—and Harl. 177 begins again with the final paragraph, of which it gives the first sentence, and the last six words.]

sed haec [h]actenus, nec preter rem tamen, cursim & breuiter hic delibasse sufficiat. [II words of print left oùt.] ad nostram de cetero hiberniam reuertamur. pe man that he ones hated, vnnethe he wold cuer eft loue; & man that he ones loued, vnneth he wold cuer eft hate.

& openly mekenesse & debouerte he louede; pryde & hautcynesse he hated, & wold brynge vnder fote.

[not englisht.]

It is not my business to follow up this question of our

englisher's original. Dr. Bruce will, I hope, do that. I note only what I have just seen, that Mr. Dimock printed part of our Dublin MS., E. 2. 31, in five pages (on six) of his vol. v., pp. xciii-xcviii¹, our pp. 2–10, to line 14, 'prince of wales'; and that from this part, he said (p. lxxvii) our MS. "seems rather a paraphrase of such portions of the treatise [*Expugnacio*] as the writer, no doubt an Anglo-Hibernian², deemed most worthy the notice of Anglo-Hibernian readers"; while Prof. Earle held it "a truly interesting specimen of fifteenth century English" well worthy of publication.

Why didn't one of these excellent folk write to me about it at the time?

F. J. FURNIVALL.

MS. ROOM, BRITISH MUSEUM, 28 September, 1893.

On the authority of Giraldus, Mr. Dimock comments on pages lxxx-lxxxii of his Preface, and thus concludes :

"Recent Irish scholars have quietly received Giraldus for what he is worth, as an impetuous, strongly biassed writer, whose statements have generally more or less of truth in them, but with much unfair one-sidedness. They have seen that his abuse is not confined to Ireland and the Irish, but is almost equally as fully lavished upon his own Wales and the Welsh; that, in fact, he has praise for scarcely any thing or body except himself and his near friends and relations. Some late Irish writers, under the reaction perhaps of his having been found too much fault with, seem to me to put more faith in Giraldus's history than it really deserves."

¹ His 'blethcher,' xcvi/13, is the MS. 'blethelier,' 6/14 below; his 'foden,' xcvii/7 from foot, is the MS. 'fondene,' 8/28; his 'with,' xciv/19, is the MS. 'swith' very, 4/3 below; his 'onenth' (half), xcv/2, is the MS. 'euerich,' 4/16; his 'ichaushed,' xcv/23, is the MS. 'ibanshed,' 4/34 below; his 'inewed,' xcviii/17, is the MS. 'meued' moved, 10/12 below; and so on. The copier, Mr. J. P. Prendergast, didn't know his MS.

² And evidently a strong Churchman. See how he makes Henry II attend church-service daily 86/27, when Giraldus complains of his neglect of services. Other instances occur of like bits not in Giraldus.

SAMPLE OF THE LATER MS.

F. 4. 4, Trinity College, Dublin, p. 7 (middle of page).

For comparison with Chapter XIII of the other MSS. pp. 30-35 below.

When the kinge did knowe his entent, and whether he would goe, he gave him fully leve, and warned him not. but with such leave as he hadde, he dighte and made him ready the wynter, till the beginnige of may, he sente before him into Irelande a knighte that was called Reymonde le gras; -with him, tenn knights, and fortye Squiers, and fourescore bowemen; -a man full hardy, and well proved in weapon; Roberts nephewe, and Morices Eldeste brothers sone. They arryved at a place called Dondoneuile, foure myle besouthe the hawen of Waterforde; and there they arrearede a diche, and a feble castell upon, of yards and turues [? MS. iureus]. The men of Waterforde, and with them Malaughlyne Ofolane, they did understande that they had such Neighbourehede which them lothed: they concluded that they would upon them, or enny more weare to them come. they assembled them together, well thre thowsande men, and wente over the water of sure, that partethe the twoe counties of leynester and of Mounester, and sett them in thre hosts, bouldely for to assaile the Englyshmen within Reymounde and his men, thoughe they weare but there Castell. fewe, they weare not fainte to fighte with uneven hoste, they assemblede them together; But, as noe wonder was, soe fewe men mighte nat fighte againste soe many; theie turned them againe to there receipte. the other, thinkinge that they departed in discomfeture, they brake there sheldrun, and followed them: and they weare not fully within the gate, but some of them weare rather in [than] thenglyshe men. Reymonde sawe that he and his weare in greate perill, and upon pointe to losse there lyves. he cried to his fellowes, and turned worthely upon there foemen. and the firste that came in, he clave his hedde, and throwly killed him : all thoste

weare dyscomfitted, and toke them to flighte. The others them followed into all the plaine, and layde them one soe, that in litle while they slowe of them five hundreth and moe; and the moste parte of thother fell downe into the see from the hie roke, and drowne themselves. in this fighte, was a knighte that heighte William fferande, that did over well, and above all other. he was a man that hade semblante as thoughe he weare one the much yuell; and therfore he put him-selfe whear the most perill was; for [he] raughte not whether death came betwen him and his yuell, or it weare overmuch smitte [? MS. suirtte] upon him. here the pride of Waterforde fell; all there mighte went to noughte: herof came the Englyshe hoppe and comforte; and to the Iryshe, dredd and wanhop; for it was never therbefore harde, that, of soe fewe men, soe greate a slaughter was done. but unwise counsaile they did thereafter, that turned them to much crueltie; ffor when the Maystry was all thers, and all there foemen overcom, In the fighte weare taken well threscore men and tenn, that them had yelded, and weare the higheste and the richeste men of all the Cytty, such that they e mighte have had the Citty delivered for them, or els asmuch Catell as they would desire. Henry of mountud, that to them was come, and Reymounde, upon diuerse domes stroven whate they should doe with there prisoners; ffor Reymounde travailede aboute for to deliuer them, as a man of Rewthefull mode, and thus saide to his fellowes : "Lordings, whate is us beste to doe with oure wreched prisoners? I saye nat that one anny manner one shoulde spare his foemen; but they be nat nowe oure foemene, but be men nat rebells, but in Battaile for to defende there county, overcome. me thinke they are nowe in such state, that we oughte better to have mercye of them, and give them lyfe,-for to give others example to be boxom,-then cruely to doe them to deathe, whearethroughe others, for feare of mystruste, the lesse will yeld them to When Reymonde had theise wourds saide, in all the folke us." was amoste none to graunte them lyfe; Arose up Henry amonge

them all, and this them saide : "I-noughe Remounde openly to us hathe spoken of mercy and almosedede, ¹ how vnked ¹ landes are wonne; and not with slaughter and burneinge. whether Alixandr and Julius Cesar, that weare lords of all the wourde, wonne lands bý such waý, I woulde Reýmounde woulde me answere. when they came to us well arrayed for to fighte, yf theie had wone the overhande and overcome us, woulde they, for almose and for rewth, haue had mercy one us ? noe, I trowe not. therfore, but those one of twoe wayes: eyther doe manly that thinge whea re fore we bene come, and the folke that rebell againste us, with [out] any noyse, with weapone heartely bringe owt of dawes; otherwise, yf we shall doe almose-dede one them, and spare them, as Reymounde hath saide, lett us wend to oure shippes, and turne agayne; and lett we the wreched men houlde there lande, and Brouke it, without any challendge." Henries dome licked them better then Reymonds; and the Cittizens weare demed to death. They had noe wonte of waritrees; and therfore They ladd them to the clyffe of the see, and putt them downe, and drowned them.

of the firste goode adventure that him befell, they that beste weare worthye should have there parte, and the hoste. all the towne of wexforde, with the twoe nexte countyes, he gave to Roberte Stephensson and to Moryce fitz Geraude, as forwarde was to-for made. other twoe nexte counties, he gaue to Henry of Mountmorthie,—nexte thay twoe, one the syde towarde waterforde, a knighte that came in that same flote, hym pridsome of knights, and came throughe thearle Richarde, more for to spye the land, then for to fighte.

¹⁻¹ Afterwards written above the line in MS.

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CORRECTIONS BY HENRY BRADLEY, M.A.

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FOR

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY. No. 107.

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Boxom-fastines 62/18: this should be two words, buxom fastness, an obsequious covenant, meant to render L. fucato foedere.

Costes : part of far-costes below.

- Ense 80/29: read Euse, eaves, edge, border: 'the wode evese (ms. hevese) voc. 159.'-Bradley's Stratmann.
- Far-costes 80/5: 'O.N. farkostr; means of conveyance, hoat, ship, Engl. Metr. Hom. xix.'-ib.

Fawes 96/2: perhaps the Irish fogha (O'Reilly), a dart, O.Ir. fogae (Lat. jacula).

- Folk place 50/15: the folk (for febyll in the Rawlinson MS.) was caught from the 'lond-folk' in the next line.
- Herrer 116/30: the Latin is 'et citra majoris auctoritatem urbem obtenturum.'-Gir. Cambr. Op. v. 342.
- I-quenyted 36/35: miswritten for Iquemed, pleased.
- I-suywed 116/9: read I-snywed, 'snowed' their arrows; the Latin is 'sagittarum . . . grandine perfuso.'
- Lygne 102/17: as fayre & lygne translates 'procerus et pulcher,' the word must mean 'tall'; perhaps it is a misreading for hygne, high.
- Lyme 62/18: the Latin has *amorem*; the scribe must have misread luue (love) as *lime*, and transcribed it *lyme*.
- Ost 50/2: cannot mean 'burnt.' The word is superfluous; perhaps the translator at first wrote lytell ost (little host), and then altered ost into stonwal, but did not clearly enough expunge the rejected word.
- Privisant 80/28: cannot mean 'foreseeing'; it is probably a mistake for pursivant, pursuivant (the Latin is satelles).
- Ryuely 128/12: rifely, abundantly.
- Sheldrun 31/29 (R): company-formation, O.E. scild-truma (whence shelter); the Rawlinson MS. here preserves the right reading, that of the Dublin MS. being unmeaning.
- Spourges 112/3: ? for spronges, shoots, sprouts.
- porwe 28/12: ?through; wel porwe 'well through,' urgently (the Latin is 'omnibus modis').
- Trukked 48/9: ran short, trukien, O.E. trucian, fail, be lacking.

Wecchene 36/31: cwecchen, to twitch, shake.

- Wenttene 106/8: for weten, know (pat is to weten = that is to say); the scribe was misled by seeing wentten (went) in the line above.
- Yonre 104/10: Youre 114/27: yovre, zeofre, O. E. zifre, greedy.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND

FOUNDED ON THE *EXPUGNACIO HIBERNICA* OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS

A PARALLEL TEXT

FROM TWO MSS., I. AB. 1425 A.D. MS. TRIN. COLL., DUBLIN, E. 2. 31; II. AB. 1440 A.D. MS. RAWLINSON B. 490, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD

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THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND

FOUNDED ON

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS.

(MS. Trin. Coll., Dublin, E. 2. 31.)

[CHAPTER I.]

VN the tym that the kynge henry, *jat* was the kynges [Fol. 1a.] When fadyr Richard & the kynges fadyr Iohn, regned in englaund Henry II well, & 1 heighe man in Irland, bat het dermod Macmorgh, princes reigned in England, of levnyster, that is I-told be fifte parte of Irland. That dermod, 4 Dermot Macmurgh from the tym that he was lord of lond, & foll shold gouerne, he ruled over went amonge his heighe men, and so hard ham biladde pat pay Leinster, A. D. 1135casten grete hat to hym, and myche thay wax hym ageyn in 71. His folk herth², begh bey ne durst nat oppenly shewe. What he hade 8 hated him ; longe whill bus bilad hym amonge his men, bettidde an aduenture [1 &, an, a]. ² heart]. that turnede hym ber-aftyr to mych harme; ffor in mythe was a kynge that hegth Rowry, & a well fayr womman to wif; and as but the wife of men tellede oft, and soth it is I-found, that som of heme ben 12 King Rory of Meath to vnstable of herth², wher-throgh many harmes ben oper-whill, loved him. bat ne ben nat now al to rekne. This Rouryes wif worthen to be loue of Macmurgh mor ban hyr own lord; and he hir also, & this was longe; bot to-giddre ne myghtyn bei nat com as 16 the wold; for hit betid a tym pat hir lord went owt of his contrey in-to fer londes, for grete nedes bat he hade to dow. his wif a-waitede full well, & aspied pat hir lord most longe be owt of and sent for him lond, send to Macmurgh, & bade hym, pat if he euer wold his 20 when Rory will have of hir, that he shold com to hyr, for sho was redy was away. to do all bat hym likede. I Macmorgh name power with hym, He took her to and went that this lady was; & as hit be-spoke was, he name Leinster, hir, & broght hir out of myth into leynestr, and hell hir that to 24 A. D. 1152,

OF THE CONQUESTE OF IRLAND BY ENGLYSH MEÑ.

(MS. Rawl. B. 490, Bodl. Libr.)

[CHAPTER I.]

N the tyme that Kynge Henry, that was the kynges Fadyr [Fol. 1 a.] Rychard and the kynges Fadyr Ihon, regned in England, Capitulum was an hey man in Irland, whos name was callyd Dermot Macmurgh, Prince of leynystre, that is y-tolde the fyfte Parte of Leinster Irlande. That Dermot, from the tyme that he was lorde of lond, and is a fifth part of folke sholde govern, he werret cruely amonge his hey men, and so Ireland. harde hame lade, that thay castyn grete hate to hym, and muche they were agennes hym in herte, theght they ne dvrste nat opynly shewe. Whan he hadd thus longe tyme lade hym amonge hys men, be-felle an aduenture that turned hym ther-aftyr to mych harme; For in myth was a kynge, whos name was Roury, and Tiernan hadd' a wel fayre woman to wyffe; and as men tellyth ofte, and sith O'Rourke, king of hit is y-found, that some of them ben vnstabill of hert, wherfore Breifny. many harmys ben ofte-tymes, that ben nat now all to reherse //

This Rouries wyfe lowyd more Macmurgh than hyr owyn lorde; 'Varium et mutabile and he hyr also, and this was longe; but to-giddyr ne myght they semper not come as they wolde ; for hit be-felle in a tyme, that hyr lord femina went out of his contrey into fere londys, for grete neddes that he (Virg. Aen. hedde to done. Him of he that he iv. 569). hadde to done. His wyfe be-thoght hyr ful well, and, Supposynge that hyr lord moste longe be out of londe, Sche sente to Macmurgh, and sayde to hym, that yf he euer wolde his wille haue of hyr, that he sholde cyme to hyr, for she was redy to do al that hym lykyd //

Macmurgh toke wyth hym many men, and went there this lady O'Rourke's and as hit was be-for spoke be-twen them both, he toke hyr wife carried was. wyth hym out of myth into leynestere, and helde hyr there to hys off.

A. D. 1152.

A.D. 1152. his will. Nat for-pail sho grad and cried, as thogh he nam hir and kept agavnes hir will, as hit nas nat so. Than hir lord hit herde, he her there. was ther-of tened swith stronge, and mych mor of the shamme bat to hym was don, ban of the harme; all that he mygth do. 4 Rory and his ally. he didde, for to awreke hym; he sent after his own power, the King of Conande eke all bat he myght of other; and the kynge of Connagth, naught, pat was that tym lorde of Irland, com to hym with his power: march into he gadrede so moch folke (?) pat now end nas, and com into 8 Leinster. leynestr for to wreke hym of his shame. The Macmorgh this herd, he sent to his men hat bay sholde hym helppe ayeyn his fomen pat pus weren commyng toward hym. They bethoghten ham of the ten & the trayson bat they ham hade ydon ber- 12 Macmurgh's to-fore | and forsoke, al out of dout, bat bay nogth woll hym men refuse helpe; and many of ham openly turned to his fomen ayeyns hym, to help him; ffor to wreke haw of the iniurie pat he haw had dow. Macmorgh saw bat power hym failled, & eucrich half he was amyde his 16 fomen beset. he was man of hegh hert; and with be litill power pat he had, he werrede as long as he myght; bot he ne myght nat all-way all-on avevns all the lande folke | he was so narowe bilad pat nedes he most tholl deth, other be lond leue; he saw 20 pat now oper remedy was: he went to the see, and fond shippe redy, and wynde at will, & passede oure into england, with well so he sails to Engfew with hym; and on this maner he sawit his lif, & lefte lond land, A.D. & lede & all his other good. Hereby pat men may witte, pat 24 1166, be a mail of neuer so mych power, bettre hym is pat hys men hym loue bane hate. I Whane Macmorgh was thus icome in-to england, al hys thoght was how he myght hym best worck of the schame pat hyme was done, & of pat pat he was so vilich out of 28 hys kynd lond I-dryue, he nyst of whom he myght bettre besech [*Fol.1b.] help bane of be kynge. And be kynge was bane fer in the and then realme of fraunce for grete nedes bat he hade to done. Macmorgh to France. passed ouer to hym. be kynge fayr hym vndrefynge, * & with mych 32 to ask Henry II's mane shipe. and whan had he tolde hyme the enchesoun of hys aid. comynge to hym, and whar-for he was out of hys londe ibanshed, be kynge was swyth wo therfor, & good hert hadde hym to helpe, nar oper grete nedes bat he hade to done. Whane he ne myght 36

4

wylle. And ther-fore she Cryed, and mad moche sorow and lemen- $_{\Lambda,\,D,~1152}.$ tacion, as thogh he toke hyr ayeynnes hir wyll: As hit was not So /

Than hyr lorde hit herd, he was ther-of full stronge a-greued, and O'Rourke mych more of the shame that to hym was don, than for the harme. ^{is wroth at} the shame Al that he myght do, he dyd, forto be wroke on hym. he Sente done him, aftyr his owyn men, and eke al that he myght of othyr; and the and kynge of Connaght, that In that tyme was lorde of Irlande, come to hym wyth his Power. And he gaderid so myche Pepyll, that they invades were vnnvmerable, Comynge Into leynystre, forto be vengyd of his shame///

The Macmurgh her[de ther]of, he Sent to his men, that thay Macsholde hym helpe ayeynes his foe-men, that thus weryn comynge ^{murgh's} to-warde hym.

Thay bethoghten them of cruelte and the traysound that to ham he hadd done therto-fore, And forsoke all out of dowte that thay wolde noght hym helpe. And many of them opynly turned to his Ennemys ayeynes hym, flor to wroke tham of the Iniury that he to them hadd done //

Macmurgh sawe that his men failled hym; and on Euche halwe men fail he was amyd his ennemys besegyd. He was a man of hey herte; him, and wyth the fewe Pepill that he hadd, he werrid as longe as he myght; but he ne * myght not alway dure avennes the Londe folke. [*Fol.1b.] He was so narow bylade, that nedys he myste suffyr deth, or the londe leue. he saw that non othyr remedy was. He went to the see, and founde shippe redy, and wynde at wyll, and passyd owyr so he into England, with wel fewe with hym; and on this maner he sauyd England, his lyfe, and lefte lond and lede, and al othyr good // Here-by men A. D. 1166, may witte that, be a man neuer of so mych Powere, bettyr hit is to hym, that his men hym loue, than hate // Whan Macmurgh was thus y-come Into England, al his thoght was, how he myght hym best wreke of the shame that hym was y-don, and of that that he was so shamfully out of his kynde londe I-dryue. He wyst not of whom he myght bettyr beseke helpe and sokovre, than of the kynge. And the kynge was then fer in the reame of Fraunce, for and then gret nedys that he hadd to dow. Macmurgh passyd ouer to hym. to France, where the kynge fayre hym vndyrfonge, and with mych vyrchipp. And Hen. II when he hadde tolde hym the cause of hys comynge to hym, and welcomes the cause where-for he was out of his Land y-baneshyd, the kynge was sory therfor, and good-will hym hadd to helpe, nere othyr grete nedys that he hadde to don. Whan he ne myght nat ellis do, he

nat elles do, he name of hym homage, & othes, & lete hyme mak

A. D. 1165-7.

Henry appeals to his subjects to help Macmurgh,

who returns to Bristol,

and agrees to give his daughter and Leinster to Earl Strugoill, in return for aid. Macmurgh goes to South Wales, A.D. 1167,

hys lettres, that thus much ben to undrestond: 'Henry, throgh gode-is grace kynge of englond, duc of normandy & of Acquitayne, & erl of angoy, to al hys liegemen, englyssh, normannes, Walshe, 4 Scottes, and to al oper that to hym ben subject, sendeth gretynge. Whan bese lettres to yow ben i-com, witte ye pat we, dermot, prince of levnester, in our grace and in our goode will have recevuet; wharfore bat all bay that hym as our lawfull man 8 hell pe] willeth, into his lond hym to restore, our grace and our goode leue haue pay per-to.' Whan Macmorgh hade the kynges lettres thus y-purchasede-be kynge hym yaf also richely bat hym nedet of his tresour-he nam leue of the kynge, & wentt in-to englond 12 & com to Bristow, & solourned that a whill; & so mych the blethelier, for ber com oft shippes theder out of Irland, & men, pat he myght hir tythynge of the lond & of his folkis, for his hert was mych there-to. The whill bat he ther was, well oft he let rede 16 be kynges wrytte to-for the peple; & largely he beheght londes and rentes, & Rich yiftes, if any wer that hym helpe wold. Bot he ne fond noon with all, that such tynge wolde ne durst vndirtake, till bat the erle of Strugoill, Richard be Erles son Gilbert, com 20 to hym. Ther was be parlement so longe y-dryue between ham, & sekiritesse y-makyd, pat the Erle shold hym helpe with all his power be next somer ber-after, and he shold yeue be Erle this maner ypu[rueied, for the grete] talent pat Macmorogh had to ber neer his lond-as man tynke [no place so 1] mery lyghtly, as in his kynd stidde,-he went hym thennes in-to south walys, to seynt dauyes toun, vp-on be see; & mych hit gladet his hert, 28 thogh he stronghly mourned, bat he myght in fayr weder haue somdell syght of his lond.

where Rys is prince. In that tyme was prince in wales, Rys, Gryffynes sow, on per² the kyng of england; & a swith good mail bisshoppe of seynt $_{3^2}$ dauy, and was his name, 'ahon dauy'; & both pe prince & eke pe

¹ Dermitius, desiderio visendae patriae plurimum accensus, eaque dulcedine, qua natale solum cunctos ducere solet, amplius allectus.—Gir. Camb., *Expug*nacio Hibernica, cap. ii, Op. v. 228, Rolls Series. ² under.

toke of hym homage and othis, and lette hym make his letteres, A.D. that thus myche bene to vndyrstond // 'Henry, throw goddys The 1166-7. grace, kynge of England, Duke of Normandy and of acquytanye, Kyngys and Erle of angoy, to al his lege men, Englyssh, normannes, Walshe, letteres Scotes, and to al othyr that to hym ben subjecte / Sendyth gretynge. Whan this lettres ben to yow y-come, witte ye that we, Dermot in favour of Prince of Leynystre, in oure grace and in oure goode-wyll, have Murrough, receuet; wherfor that al thay that hym / as oure laufull man he[]]pe will, Into his londe hym to restore, oure grace and oure good-wyll haue they therto' // 'When Macmurgh hadd the kynges Letteres thus y-Purchasyd, (the kyng hym yafe also rychely, that hym nedyd of his tresoure,) He toke Leue at the kynge, and went into England, who comes back to and come to Brystow, and soyorned ther awhyle; and myche radyr, England. for ther come oft shippis thedyr out of Irland, and men, that he myght hyr thythynge of the Londe and of his Pepyll; for his hert was mych therto // The whyle that he there was, well oft he made to be redd⁻ the kynges lettres to-for the Pepyll; and largely he promysyd londys, and rentis, and othyr ryche yeftys, to them that hym wolde he[1]pe. But he ne found none, wyth al that, that Suche thyng wolde ne druste vndyrtake, tyll that the Erle of Strugoill, and is Richarde, the Erlis Sonne Gylbert¹, come to hym. Ther was the promist help by Parlement² so longe y-dryue be-twen ham, and sekyrnesse y-makyd, Richard, Earl of that the Erle sholde hym helpe with al his Powere the nexte Striguil. somere ther-aftyr, And he sholde yeue the Erle his doghtyr, with al the lond of leynystre // Whan this was on this maner purueyed3, For grete affeccion that Macmurgh had to ben neere his londe, (as man thynkyth no Place so Myrry lyghtly as in his Kynd * Place,) [*Fol.2a.] he went fro thens Into Suthe Walis, to Seynt Dauyes toun vp-on the see; and mych hit gladdyd his herte, thegh he strongly mornyd, that he myght in fayre weddyr haue somdel Syght of his lond / In that tyme was prynce in walis, Rys, Gryfynes Sonne, vndyr the kynge of England, And a wyrshipphul man, Bishope of Seynte Dauy, and also his name was dauy 4. And both the Prince and also

¹ Camden adds ⁱ dictus Strengbow, *fortis arcus.*'—D. ² Colloquium. ³ His itaque seriatim hoc ordine completis. ⁴ Davidque secundo Meneviae praesidente. A.D. 1167. bisshop well wyrshipfully vndrefynge Macmorgh. & mych reut had of his enemyte, & of his mych lostes, & of be mych shamme bat hym was i-done.

[CHAPTER II.]

prison a Sir Robert Fitzstephen, once Constable of South Wales.

Rys has in In the tyme bat this was so, was in prison with be prince of wales, a knyght bat heght Robert Stefenes-son, bat som tynd had y-be constable of all south walys, & many il turnes had idoñe vpoù be princes men whan bay any thynge mysdeden; & progh traison of his owne men he was I-take & delvuered to a the prince; & pre yer he was I-hold in prisonne ar Macmorgh theder cam. Oft be prince hym profred to delyuer hym out of prison, so pat he wold be his helpps to werry vp-on be kynge; bot Robert was a trew man, & for no tynge wold do thynge 12 wher-of he myght be per-after I-wyted of wntrowth. Than-progh [*Fol.2a.] besechynge of * be bisshope & of Moryce fitz-Geraud, bat weren He sets Robertes two bretheren on his mober half .- he was delyuered owt Robert of prison on this manere: bat he & Morice his brother shold, be 16 free, on condition next somer, wend in-to Irland, with ar power to helppe Macmorgh; that he and his & he shold hym yeue be ton of weysford, with be twey next cantredes; & of this was good sekernes Imaked on ether half. brother Maurice I Whan this thyng 1 was all thus bespokene, Macmorgh ne myght 20 no lengere suffre pat he ne most to his land wend, thegh he ne fond help Macnat be aduentures bat he soght, such as hyme lif wer, ne non murgh. [1 MS. other power he ne broght with hym than he out ladde. He had kyng.] shippe redy, and good wynd, and passed ouer in-to Irland, & boldly 24 Macmurgh aryued in lond per he had many fomen and fewe frendes. from pe sails to Ireland. see he went to fernes; and well simply he lyued ber all be wynttyr with the Clergie of be chirch, wiche well fayr hym vndrefynge, winters at and by hare power to hym & to his, fonden bat hame was nede. 28

[CHAPTER III.]

hym

dyght to

7 nder that tyme, Robert Steunes-son

A.D. 1169.

half-

Fitz-

and

Ferns.

gerald

Fitzstephen collects

wend in-to Irland, as a man pat on all maner wold hold lawfully his trowthe and his behest . he hade purueied hym of 30 knights, xxx^{ti} knyghtes and lx skyers, & ccc of foot-men with bowes and 32 60 squires, arowes; and knyghtes and be skyers well I-horsed and well and 300 y-wepened, all of his own kyne and of his owne nurtur. Thay foot-men

the Byshope wel wyrchipphully vndyrfonge Macmurgh, and myche A.D. 1167. Pite hadd of his Enemyte and of his mych Lostys, And of the mych shame that hym was done.

[CHAPTER II.]

IN the tyme that this was so, was in Prisonne wyth the Prince Capitulum of Walys, a knyght, whos Name was Robert Steues-Sonne, ^{2",} Ea tempesthat sometyme hadd y-be constabill of al Suthe Walis, and many tate Roberyll tvrnys hadd y-doñe vp-on the Princes men, when thay eny tus filius Stephani, thyng mysdedyn; and throgh traysoun of his owyn men, he was qui apud y-take and delyuerid to the Prince. And thre yere he was holde Aberteivi, Kereticae in prison, are Macmurgh thedyr come. Oft the Prince hym regionis proferyd to delyuer hym out of pryson, So that he wolde be his caput, &c. helpe to wer vp-on the kynge; but Robert was a trew man, and for nothyng wold do thynge wher-of he myght be ther-aftyr reprovid of vntrowth //

Than,-through be-sechynge of the Byshope and of Moryce fiz- Interveni-Geraud, that weryn Robertys two bretheryn on his Modyr syde,-he entibus was delyueryd out of Pryson on this manere: That he and Morice uterinis his brodyr sholde, the nexte Somyr, wende Into Irland, with har fratribus, Powere, to helpe Macmurgh; and he sholde hym yeue the toun of &c. weysford, with the twey nexte cantredes: and of this was good swrte y-fondyd on euery syde. / Whan this was al thus Spokyn, Macmurgh myght not lengyr Suffyr that he ne myste to his Lond wende, thegh he ne found nat the aduentures that he Soght, suche as hym lykyd, ne none othyr Powere he ne broght wyth hym, than he out-ladd! / he had shipe redy, and good wynd, and Passyd ouer A clero into Irland, and boldely arryued in londe ther-as he hadd many honorifice Enemys and few frendys. / From the see he went to Fernys; and juxta wel sympylly he lyued there al the wyntyr, with the Clergy of the modulum facultatis chyrche, whych wel fayre hym vndyrfonge, and by har Power to hym exhibitus, &c. and to his, foundyn that ham was nede.

[CHAPTER III.]

Nder that tyme, Robert Steues-Sonne hym dyght to wende Capitulum

Into Irland, as a man that on al maner wolde holde lawfully ^{3^m}. his throuth, and his beheste. He had Purveyed hym of xxxti Nec proknyghtes and lx Squyeris, and ccc of fote-men with bowes and immemor, arowes; And the knyghtis and the Squyris wel y-horsyd and wel nec fidei contempwepenyd, al of his owyn kyn and his owyn nurture. Thay dyddyn tor, &c.

A.D. 1169.

missionis

and lands at Banow, c. May 1, 1169.

of Merlin was thus fulfild.

and Fitz stephen forces.

didden hame to sail att send dauyes, and arjueden at Banow in Irlaund, well vnsikere on euery halfe. thay vncharged hare shippes, & made ham loges on lond. Thane was fulfilled a prophecie Aprophecy bat merlyn seid of this commynge : "A knyght with party armes 4 shall formost breke be clos of Irland." Such armes bare bat Robert. he send son to Dermod Macmorgh, and didde hym to witt of his commynge; and be thedynge spronge fort son into all be lond, what folke was to hym Icom. and of bo that to-for hym 8 Macmurgh hade I-left, and litil told by hym, commyn son to hym, so bat he had I-gadered fywe hundred men. he wentt witt this folk to be unite their Englysse-ment; and [when] bay com to-geddr, every of ham was the gladder for other. Ther was the forward meued bethwen ham, 12 and othes y-swor, and sekernesse I-made to conferme all be forward, as hit there-by-for was purueied by-for the prince of wales.

[CHAPTER IV.]

and march toWexford, about twelve miles from Banow.

men at first resolve to meet them in the field, but, on seeing their array, retire within the city.

Wy han this sekernesse was thus y-maked, bese twey maner folkes, with oon will, and with oon hert, with Baners 16 i-lacet, nam the wey toward weysford. The men of he self ton weren ywar of har commyng, and tok ham to rede-for be tother weren so few, & day so many-that bay wold figth with ham in be The towns- pleyne felde. They can owt of the ton arraied on har maner; bot 20 whan bay sawe the Englismen, with hors I-helled with yren harnes, ham-self well I-wepned with haubergeons, and Bright helmes and sheldes, wich the sawe neuer per-to-for, they toke a-nother rede, and turned ayeyn to ton; & all pat was with-owt be 24 walles, thay sett a-fyr and brent, & redied ham to hold ham with-yne the wally's with streynthe. Robert with his men went strongly for to assayl to ton, & sette the bowmen for to wer the [*Fol.2b.] fight of the kernels, and turned the wepned men to fill be *diches. 28

thay with-yn defendet ham stalwarthly with stonnes and stakes, wher-of they wer I-warned, and wer many I-hurt whit-yn and eke

& withdraw ham. Among ham was a yong knyght pat het 32

Robert de Barry, pat drogh yong blodes hete, and for hys

stalwardnes, reght nat of his lif: as he wold with be formoste

The assault with-out, so that thay with-out mosten nedes leve of the assaut, on Wexford is successfully resisted. Röbert de Barri has a passe ouer the wall, he hent a dynt with a greth stone vpon be

RAWL, MS.] THE FIRST ASSAULT ON WEXFORD IS REPULST.

ham to sayle at Seynt Dauyes, and londyd at the Banow in Irland, A.D. 1169. wel vnsykyr on euery syde. thay ynchargid har shippis, and made ham logis on londe *. Than was fulfillid a prophesy that Merlyn [*Fol.2b.] seyde of this comynge: 'A knygh[t] with Party armys shall formyst Party per breke the clos of Irland.' Such armys bare that Robert. He sent & ermyn sone to Dermot Macmurgh, and didde hym to vndyrstand of his a saltyer comynge; And thythyngis spronge forth sone Into al the londe, what chaunged. Pepill was to hym come. And many of them that to-ford hym Miles hadd forsake and lefte, and lytill seett by hym, comen sone to hym, armis, So that he hadd gaderid v. C. men. / He went with this pepyll to Hiberniae the Englysh men; And when thay come to-geddre, every of them primus irrumpet. was the gladdyr for othyr / Ther were the for-sayde conontis rehersyd and mevid betwen tham, and othis sworn, and sekyrnesse made, to conferme all the forsayde, as hit was ther-to-fore Purveyed be-fore the Prince of Walvs.

[CHAPTER IV.]

WHan this sekyrnysse was thus madd, this two maner Capitulum Pepyll, wyth on wyll, and with oon herte, with baners 4^m. lacyd, toke ther wey towardes weysford. The men of the toune weryn y-ware of thare comynge, and toke them to consayll,-for the othyr weryn so few, and thay so many, --- that thay wolde figh[t] with ham in the Playn felde. Thay come out of the toun arrayed on ther maner; but when they sawe the Englysh men, with hors equestrem y-hellyd with Iryn harneys, ham-Selfe wel wepenyd with hauber- turmam loricis et geons, and bryght Salletis and sheldys, whych thay sawe neuer clipeis there-to-form, thay toke anothyr consayll, and turned ayayn to fulgentitoun; and al that was with-out the wallis, thay sette afyre and bus inbrente; and arrayed tham to kepe ham with-In the wallis with Streynth. Robert, wyth his men, went Strongly to assaylle the toun, and sette the bowmen forto were the fight of the propugnacornelis, and turned the wepenyd men to fill the dichis. thay sagittariis wythin defendyd ham boldely with Stones and Stakys, wher-of eminus they were y-warnyd, [....] and mosten nedis lewe the assaute, and bus ... wythdrawe ham / Amonge ham was a yong knyght / whos name was Robert de barry, that, throgh yonge blodis hette, and for his juvenili boldnys, roght not to lesse the lyfe / As he wolde wyth the fryst calore ... Passe ouer the walle, he hadd a stroke with a grette stone vp-on

pale gules

observanti-

A.D. 1169. heued al with the helme, pat he fel doun yn the ground of pe narrow escape.

ants of the town burn the ships they find on the strand.

the

gives

grants

and

Maurice

Mount-

maurice.

dich; & vnnethes he was I-draw vp throgh his felowes, bat mych put har lyf in aduentur for to saw his lif. The cry was well gret on euery syde, for this knyght pat thus was I-hurt. Thay 4 with-drow ham fro the wallys and wenten ham to be strond; and The assail- all be shippes bat bay ber fond, thay settene a-fyre. And . O. shippe ber was, that was I-com owt of Brittayne aftyr cheffar, and was y-charget with whet & with wynes, and lay I-ancred in the 8 hauene: the best parte of the englismen wenten with bottes and toke his shippe. be shippmen werne many, and saw that ber weren bot a few englys in the shippe, & the wynd was of be lond; thay cutte the cable of the ankre, and be wynd bare the shippe 12 in toward the see: her fellowes saw this, and wenter after with bottys; and vnnethe with rowyng, and with gret peril of all har lyues, bay come ayeyn to lond. Macmorgh saw this, & weren sore amaied, for thay wend never more pat on [of] ham shold haw 16 com to lond a-lyue. The assaut was I-left all pat day. A-morowe, whan masse was I-herd, al be host bay wentene to the assaut wislyere and warliere ban thay didden the day befor, and strusten as well to sleght as to streynth. The men of the ton sawe ham 20 Next day, commyng, and wer right sor aferd that day shold nat withstond townsmen the assaute, and vndrestonden al-so that with wrong day holden surrender. ayayn her lord; thay tok ham to red, and besoghten pees; & drogh be-sechynge of twe bissoppes, that bat tym weren with-yn 24 the toun, and other possible men al-so with ham, thay yolden ham al to Macmor[gh]; and four hostages, the best pat he wold chese, delyuered to hym for the pees, and trywly with hym for to hold frome bat tym forward, as har kyndly lord. Macmorgh, 28 as wise & war, ffor-thy that he wold that be out-commyn men shold haw the bettre hert, and will, hym for to serue, he bethoght Macmurgh bat, of the fyrst good aduentur bat hym was befall, bay that best weren worthy shold have har parte, and be host. Al be 32 of land to ton of weysford, with twey cantredes aller-next, he yaf to Robert, Fitzgerald steuenes sone, and to Morice fitz-Geraud, as forward was to-for maked; othere thwey cantredes he yaf heruy of Mountmorthy,---Hervey of neghest thay tweyn on the syd toward Waterford, -a knyght pat 36

the hedde al with the Sallet, that he fell doun to the grounde of the A.D. 1169. dyche ; and vnnethis he was vp-rerid through his fellovys, that myche Put har lyfe in aduenture forto sawe his lyfe. The cry was well grette on every syde, for this knyght that thus was y-hurte. Thay wythdrow ham all from the wallis, and wenten to the stronde; and A Breton ship with al the Chippis that they ther found, thay setten afyre. And oo wheat and shippe ther was, that was y-come out of Brytayn aftyr cheffare, and wine is taken by was y-chargid with whete and with wynes, and lay y-ancred in the English Havyn. The beste Parte of the Englysh men wenten wyth botis, The French and toke this shippe : the Chippmen weryn many, and saw that cut their ther weryn but a fewe Englysh men in the shippe, and the wynd set sail; was on the londe syde ; thay cytte the Cabilys of the ancre, and the but the English are wynd bare the Chippe to-ward the see. Her Fellouys sawe this, and rescued. wentyn 1 aftyr wyth botis; and vnnethe with rowyng, and wyth [1 wentgrette Perill of al there lyues, they come ayeyn to lond. Macmurgh yntyn, MS.] saw this, and was sore aferde, for they wende neuer * more that one [*Fol.3a.] of Ham sholde have come to Londe a-Lyue. The assaute Was The allies Lefte al that day. A-morrow, whan masse was herd, al the Oste march to assault the[n] wenten to the assaute wyslver and waryr than thay diddyn Wexford again: the day to-fore, and trusten as well to sleght as to streynth. The men of the toun saw ham comynge, and were ryght sore aferde that thay ne sholde not wythstonde the assaut, and vndyrstodyn also that with wronge thay heldyn ayeyn her lorde. thay toke ham to consayll, and besoghten Pees; and, throgh besechynge of two Bisshopis that that tyme weryn wythin the toune, and othir Pesibbill men also with ham, thay yoldyn ham al to Macmurgh; and foure but it is Hostagis, the beste that he wolde cliese, delyuerid to hym for the them. Pees, and trewely wyth hym forto holde from that tyme forward, for har trew Lorde / Macmurgh, as wysse and ware, For cause that he wolde that the strangeres sholde have the bettyr hert and will, hym forto serwe, he bethoght hym that, of the fryste good aduenture that to hym was fall, thay that best weryn worthy, they sholde haue there Parte, and the hegheste. All the toun of weysford, with It is given to Fitztwey cantredes alther-nexte, he yafe to Robert Steuenes-sone and to Stephen Moryce fiz-Geraud, as the Promes to-for was made / othyr twey and Fitz-Gerald. cantredes he yafe Heruey of Montmyrthy,-nexte to thay two on the

A.D. 1169. com in that same * flote, hym priddesum of knyghtes, and com [*Fol.3a.] brogh the Erle Richard, more for to spye the lond than to fight.

[CHAPTER V.]

forces invade Ossory, to the prince of which country Macmurgh was a bitter enemy.

Thev

and triumphs way.

Peace is made with the prince of Ossory.

Robert de Barri and Meiler Fitzhenry fight best.

The united 1 TThan this was thus I-don al after har will, they tok with hame the folk of weysford, and wenten ham toward Ossery, with 4 ferd as might by tre thousant mend; and was than prince of Ossory, Macdonenild, a man pat was Macmorogh swith loth and all his men, for mych shame that thay had hym i-do. At be begynynge, as thay com in-to the contrey, in narrow weys drogh 8 woddes and mores, thay fonden the men of the contrey stalwarth for to defend har lond; & mych tene ham didde, ar that day myght [take] the pleyne; and eke into the pleyn thay folwed ham full fresly. the horsman saw this, and turned manly vp-on ham, & 12 anoon slowen right many of ham, & discomfited ham everychone. And thay pat be horsmed kest to ground with speres and with defeat him, swerdes, be yrisshe fotemen smotene of the heddes. Whan be slaght was all I-do, and har enymyes all ouer-comen, thay 16 broghten well ccc heudes², and kesten at Macmorgh feet. he be-held ham, & tried every of ham by ham-self, for to know hame, & hild vp his handes and tanked god almyghty ful Inwardly. Oon hede ther was, a-monge be other, of a man that he ouer-dede 20 Macmurgh and mych hated; he name hit be the heer and by the eers, and in a brutal with girslich bit, as no mail ne oweth to done; with his teeth he karue of his nose and both lippes. There-after bey wented forther into the contrey, slowen, robeden, and branden full manly 24 al bat hame withstonden, in-to the tym the prince of Ossory, by consaill of his mend, send to ham, & be-soght pees: the pees was graunted whan he hit by soght, vp-on good ostages, and othes I-swer, pat he, to his lord Macmorgh, shold be trew, and trowth 28 hold, trywly serve fro that tyme forward. in these fightes as in many othere, thogh that in the englishe host noon wer bot good and stalward, Robert be Barr and Meiler fiz-henry weren thay that best deden. Thay weren both yong knyghtes, and Robert 32 Steuenes-sonnes neues; the oon his brother sone, the other his susteres sone; of diverse maners, both 3 of hardnes & of stalworthnes

> ² heuedes, heads. ¹ a small w is inside the V. ³ but.

syde toward watyrford¹,—a knyght that come in that same flitte, A.D. 1169. hym thyrdesum of knyghtes, and come through the Erle Rychard, ¹mari conterminos. more forto spy the londe than to fyght.

[CHAPTER V.]

Whan this was thus don al aftyr har will, thay toke with Capitulum tham the Pepill of weysford, and wenten ham to-ward Ossory, vm. with oste as myght be by thre M[†]. men². And was than Prince of $[^2$ cum Ossory, Macdonenylde, a man that was myche be-hatyd of Mac-exercitu murgh, for myche shame that thay hadd hym donne. At the quasi trium begynnynge, as thay come into the contrey, in narrow weyes through milium.] woddis and mores, thay foundyn the men of the contrey bolde forto defende har londe; and mych sorrow ham didd; ar thay mygh[t] take the Playne: and when thay come to the Playne, thay folwid' ham ful fresly. the hors-men saw this, and turned boldely vp-on ham, and anoone slowyn rygh[t] many of ham, and dys-comfited ham euerychow. And thay that the hors-men keste to ground wyth Sperys and wyth Swerdis, the Iryss'h footte-men Smoten of 300 heads of foes are the hedis. Whan the slaght was al y-do, and har ennemys al brought to ouer-come, thay broghten wel ccc. hedis, and kesten at Macmurgh Macis fete. he behylde ham, and tyrned euery of tham 3 by hym-Selfe [3 than, forto know tham, and hilde vp his handis, and thankyd almyghty MS.] god ful Inwardly. Oone hede ther was, amonge the othyr, of a man that he gretly dreddid and myche hatid; he toke hit by the heeres He bites and by the Ers, and grymly hit bitte, as no man sholde haue doun; off the nose and wyth his tethe he kutte of his nose and bothe lippis. Ther-aftyr lips of one. they wenten fourdyr Into the contrey, kildyn, robedyn and brandyn kill, rob, ful boldely al that ham wythstodyn, into the tyme the Prynce of and slay, till Macossory, by consaylle of his men, sent to ham, and besoght Pees. the donough Pees was graunted whan he hit be-soght, vp-on good Ostagis, and sues for peace. othis y-Sworne, * that he, to His Lord Macmurgh, shold be trewe, [*Fol.3b.] and trowth Hold, and trewely Serve fro that tyme forth. In this fyghtes as in many othyr, thoght that in the Englysh hoste noone were but good and bolde, Robert de barry and Meyler fiz-henry weryn thay that best diddyn: they wer both yong knyghtes, and Robert Steuenes-sones emys⁴ both, the one his brodyr sonne, the ⁴ neveus, othyr his Systyr Sonne; Of dyuers maners, but of hardynes and nepotes.

- A. D. 1169. mostdele al I-lých; ffor Meyler was a mañ that ouer mych desyred to be I-preisede, and þat meñ sholden mých speke of his stalwardnes, and preisen hym. Robert was kýndlýe, hardy,
- [*Fol.3b.] & stalwarde, * and ever with the forthmost in every fight and 4 in every peril, bot he hatede notynge so mych as that me shold spek of his stalwardnes, ne hyme preiese. The whill the host was thus in Ossory, befel pat pay weren a nyght I-loget A phantom in an old castell, & aboute; and these tweyn, as har wone was, 8 army at weren both I-hosted to-gedderes: ffer with-yn nyght come an night host vp-on ham, of so mych folk as thegh hit were fele thousand. creates terror among the on euery side smytynge vp the host as they wolden in wode English; raas ferly ouersailt hame, al, with wepne ryngynge, speres and 12 sparthes ruthlynge to-geddre, with cryynge so grysly that noon ende was of helf far, as 'hoft-sithes was wonet to be-fall in ostynges ۲¹ MS. host.] in Irland; of whiche frightnes the most parte of the oste was so aferd, that pay flowe² and hidden ham, some in wodnes, som in 16 [2 MS. slowe.] mores. These twey stalward men henten har wepene, & lep to but Meiler hors, and wenten a-noon to Robertes tentes, (Steuenes sone,) and and de Barri cryed vp-on har felowes bat day sholden withstond, and tak hert manfully to hame, and defend ham-self; bot few ther wer that so diden, 20 withstand the panic. til they saw that this crie and be noise was all I-left, & nas bot fantasy. Whan the host hem gaddred ayayn to-geddre, thay wer full sor ashamet that thay so argly put ham to f[1]ight, and Ň mych speche was amonge ham, and many, hadden gret enuy, and 24 mych wonder toght of Robert de barr, that whan the host was in so gret frightnes, he was that man bat stydfastly most hym Character of Robert held, and most hym entised for to withstond and fight; and de Barri. amonge all the goode thewes that in hym weren, bis inamliche is 28 i-told of hym, that for no violence ne ferly aduentur pat hym myght betid, he was neuer whan-hopefully argh, ne aferd, ne amayed of hert, ne shamefully ne didde hym to flight, bot euer mor he was I-lich redy to weppen and to defend hym-self, and 32 to helpen all oper; he the formost knyght that in this conqueste of Irland first receyued dynt and hurtyng in battaill. A wonder was of that fantasye: A-morowe what hit was day, I the place, ther this folk I-seve smyten vp-on hame, the wedes and the grase 36

16

boldnys mostdele al y-lyke. For Meyler was a man that gretly A.D. 1169. desyryd to be Praysid, and that men shold myche Speke of his boldnys, and Preysyn hym. / Robert was kyndly, hardy and bold, and ever with the fryst in every fyght / and in every Perill; but nec laudis he hatyd nothynge so myche as that a man sholde speke of his exactor, boldnys, ne hym Preyse. / The whyll the hoste was thus in Ossory, nec aurae popularis befell that thay weryn a-nyght y-logid in an olde castell, and aboute. aucupator. And thus two, as they wer wonyd, weryn in one Plase to-gedderis.

Fer with-in nyght, come an hoste vp-on ham of so mych Pepill, as A phantom they were many thowsandis, on every syde Smytynge vp the hoste, [tanquam as they woldyn, in wode raas, fersly ouersayle hame al, wyth wepyn in impetu ryngynge, Speris and sparris rutlynge to-giddyr, wyth cryynge so sui cuncta grymly, that none ende was Of elf fare, as ofte-tymes was wonet to devoranbefall in hostyngis in Irland¹. Of whych ferde, the moste Parte of frightens the Oste was so a-dred, that they flow and hiddyn ham; somme in Englishwoddis, some in mores / This two bolde men token har wepyn, and men, who run and lepe to hors, and wentyn anone to Robert Steuenes-sonne, and cried hide; on har fellowis that 'they sholdyn wytstond, and take herte to hame, and defende ham-Selfe;' but fewe were that so diddyn, tyll they saw that this cry and this noyse was al cessid, and nas but a fantasy, but are whan the host them gaderid ayeyn to-giddyr, they wer ful sore ashamed asshamyd that thay so fently Put ham to flyght; and mych Speche when they was amonge hame; and many haddyn gret enuy, and mych wondyr all fancy. thoght of Robert de Barry, that Whan the host was in so gret ferde, he was that man that most stidfastly hym helde, and most them styrrid to wythstond and fyght. / And amonge al the good dedis that in hym weryn, this Pryncipaly is of hym tolde, that for no vyolence ne ferly aduenture that to hym chanssyd, he was neuer in wanhope sette, ne agaste, ne aferd, ne abassid of herte, ne shamefully did hym to flyght; but euer-more he was lyke redy to wepyn, and to defend hym-Selfe, And to helpyn al othyr. he was the formyst knyght that, in this conqueste of Irland, fryst receyued in hac stroke and hurte in bataill // A wondyr was of that fantasy Hiberniae expugnaa-morrow, whan hit was day: In the Playn ther this Pepill y-seve tione.

host furoris the

find it was

¹ Cujusmodi phantasma in Hibernia circa expeditiones frequens esse solebat. -Op. v. 235.

С

A.D. 1169. that stoden al even vp-right, thay lay all I-drow a-doune and I-cast to grond. [This grass, &c. only in Harl. MS. 177. Op. v. 236.]

[CHAPTER VI.]

As this was on this maner I-don, the tythynges sprongen [*Fol.4a.] A in-to al Irland hwow Macmorgh conquered his lond * vpon 4 his men, and that no man mught hum withstond for out-comen men that he lade with hym. Roryk O'Concowr of Connaght, that was that tym kynge of al Irland, vndrestod hym, and toght in his hert the gret peril that myght be-fall hym and al the 8 lond folk, drogh the owt-comen folk bat was thus in-to the land I-com; he sent his messagers to al the gret men of the lond; and in a lityll whill gaddred ham to-geddre to a parlement, English. and tok ham to rede that every on his half shold gaddre al the 12 power pat they myght, for to wer vpon Macmorgh. And as hit was purueied, so hit was dow; Thay assemblet so many hostes and so mych folk on every half, that noon end was, and comen to Okensely for to weren vpon Macmorgh. Whan this hostes 16 weren thus assemblet, the most parte of Macmorghis men, aveyne har trowth and ayeyn har othes, some priuely whithdrow hem that day, nold nat to hym com, some al openly leften hym, and wenten to his fomen ayeyn hym; so that, in his most nede, trew 20 men stand frendes ne fonde he now, sawe Robert, steuenes sow, and his. With the lityll folk that thay hadden, thay wenten in-to a place nat fer frome ffernes, a pleyn place bisette about with montaignes and woddes, watres and mores, on euery side il to com [to]. the 24 entrees that ther weren, by Robert-is deuice thay setten men for to stopen, in some place with trees I-cast don, and in other places depe diches I-cast. thegh the place wer stronge of kynde, thay maden hit mych stronge[r] with engyn, so that hit was 28 I-now seker recet to ham, and [to] her enemyes ful strong to com to, and with litill folke hit myght be I-kept; & derne weies thay hadden purueied to ham-self, owt to goo, ayeyn In to com, whan ham liked. Whane the kynge of Connaght, with so many 32 hostes, was to ham I-com, he send to Robert by Messangers, and present hym with rych yiftes, and many mo he hym be-het, and fast hym be-soght that, owt of be Contray, wyche no Right

Roderic O'Conor tries to raise the whole country against Macmurgh and the

Many of Macmurgh's followers desert him, but Fitzstephen and his by him.

They occupy a strong position not far from Ferns.

smytyn vp-on ham, the wedis and the grasse that stodyn al euyn A D. 1169. vp-ryght, thay lay al y-throw dovne and cast to ground.

[CHAPTER VI.]

As this was thus donne, the thythyngis Spronge Into al Capitulum Irland, how Macmurgh conquerid his londe vpon his men. vj^m. and that no man myght hym wythstond; for strange men that he ladd wyth * Hym. Roryke Oconghoure, of Connaght, that was [*Fol.4a.] that tyme Kynge of al Irland, vndyrstode hym, and thoght in his herte the grete Perel that myght be-fall hym and al the londe- tam sibi Pepill, through the strangeres that was thus in-to the lande come. quam patriae He sende his messangeris to al the Lordis of the Londe, and in a toti. lytyll whylle gaddred ham to-gedre to a parlement, and toke ham to consayll, that every on his Syde sholde gaddyr al the Pepill that thay myght, forto werre vpon Macmurgh. And as hit was Purueyed, so hit was doun. Thay assemblid so many Hostis, and so mych Pepill on euery syde, that were vnnowmmerabill, and comyn¹ to Okenseley forto werre vp-on Macmurgh / Whan this [¹ comym, hostis weryn thus assemblet, the moste parte of Macmurgh-ismen, ayeyn hare trowthe and here othis, Some priuely with-drow ham, that they nolde not to hym come. Some al opynly leften hym, and wenten to his ennemys ayeyñ hym; so that, in his moste nede, in necessitrewe frendis ne fownde he noñe, Sawe Robert Steuenes-Sone tatis articulo and his. wyth the Lytill Pepill that they haddyn, thay wentyn into a place not fare frome Fernys, a pleyne place be-sette aboute with monttanys and woddis, watris and moris², on enery Syde il to come ²paludibus. to. The entrees that ther weryn, by Robert-is deuyce thay setten men forto stopyn; in some Place with trees y-caste doune, and in othir Placis depe dichis y-caste. thegh the Place were stronge of naturalem kynd, thay maddyn hit mych strongir with Engyn, So that hit was difficul-tatem insure recette to tham, and to ther ennemys stronge to come to, and dustria plurimum with lytill pepill hit myght be kepte. And Erthe-weyes thay et arte haddyn madd to tham-Selfe, out to goo, and ayeyñ In to come, municit. when them Plesyd. Whan the kynge of connaght, with so many hostis, was to tham come, he sende to Robert by Messangers, and presentid hym with rych yeftys, and mych more hym Promysyd, and gretly hym besoght that, out of the contrey, whych no ryght

C 2

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. VI, VII). [DUBL. MS.

20

best.]

A.D. 1169. he ne hadde to, ne no chalange ne myght setten vp-on, he and his, with pees and lou[e] shold departe. Mich they spek of this, and litell thay sped. Ther-aftyr, the messagers turned to Mac-Roderic urges Fitzmorgh, and be-soghten hym on the kynges half, OConghour, 4 stephen to retire from that he forth, with ham, shold turne vp-on the owt-comen folk, the ham to slee and vndo. And if he so wold, thay wold delvuer country. [*Fol.4b.] hym al leynestr, and stidfast pees and frend-*shippe mak hym and, failing haue of the kynge and of all other. Many reisons thay shewed, 8 in this. both for the land & for the land folk; bot notynge thay ne spedde, tries in vain to ne noon answar ne hadden, that ham liket. Oconghour saw and induce Macmurgh herd of his Messagers that he myght nat in such maner spede, to turn against the and that he most with streynth do, that he myght nat with fair 12 English. speche: he tok his wepne grymly, and stod vp a-monge his folk, and thus sayd to ham; "Mighty men, and stalward in fight for O'Conor addresses to defende your lond and your franchise! vndrestondeth, aveyn his followers, whice folk, and for what encheson, ye sholl this battaill tak an 16 hond: al oure enemy, that afor thus was owt of lond I-dryw for his wykkednesse, In commune confusion of vs all, al be-tak with owt-comen & wepned folk, is avayn commen for enuy and harme of vs, & hath I-broght vnked folk vp-on vs, that the harme 20 wich he had no power to don vs hym-self, throgh helpe of ham & and demayntenaunce, the better myght brynge to end; and hath dight nounces hem to sheden his attyr so wide, that he rechet nat of his own the poisonous deth, bot that al mowend have our bale troghe hyind, and for 24 Macnoon shold be I-spared, and he ne spared hym-self. murgh. Ther-for we willen withstond the begynynge, and be yuel whil hit is comyn, ar hit be Iroted; ffor harme wexet euer with longe abiddynge. Patriam Our lond & our fredom defended we manly; so that the slaght 28 itaque of bese fewe be ferdnesse to many; & be ensample of these, al tuentes, ct libertatem other out-lond men to be adrede, such folies to begyn, and the mynd of vs. with-out end to rest 1." ۲' MS.

[CHAPTER VII.]

Macmurgh harangues the men of Leinster. Mar on this maner: "Men of leynester, which, sothfast trowth & stidfaste kynd in al aduentures, vs hath felawes I-maked;

RAWL. MS.] O'CONNOR'S SPEECH TO HEARTEN HIS MEN.

he hadd therto, ne no calange ne myght setten vpon, he and A.D. 1169. his, wyth Pees and loue, sholde deperte. Mych¹ they spoke of [1 Myth, this, and lytyll thay Spede / There-aftyr, the messangers turned MS.] to Macmurgh, and be-soghten hym on the kyngis be-halfe. Oconnoghoure, that he forth, wyth tham, sholde turne vpon the strangeres, ut in hame to kyll and vndo. And yf he so wolde, thay wolde delyuyr exteras nationes hym all levnystere, and stydfaste Pees and frendshippe make hym delendas haue of the kynge and of al othyr. Many reysonys thay shewid, simul cum both for the londe and for the lond-pepill; but nothynge thay ne converspede, ne noone answere hadde, that ham Plesyd. Oconnoghoure teret. saw and herde of his messyngers, that he myght nat in suche maner spede, and that he moste with streynth do that, that he myght not with fayre speche. He toke his wepyn grymly, and stode vp amonge his pepill, and thus sayde to tham :-- " Myghty men, and bolde in fyght forto defende youre londe and youre patriae fredome! Vndyrstondyth, ayeyn whych * Pepill, and for whate [*Fol.4b.] cause, ye sholde this Bataill take on Honde. Al oure ennemy, tutores, et that afor this was out of londe ydrywe for his wickidnes. In libertatis. comynne confusion of vs all, all be-take wyth strangeres and wepened Pepyll, is ayeyn comyn, for Enuy and harme of vs, and guod, hath broght strange Pepill vp-on vs, that the harme whych he cuactis hadde no Powere to don vs hym-selfe, throgh helpe of them and *communi* labe inmayntenavnce, the bettyr myght brynge to ende; and hath dyght fectis, ut nemini hym to shedyn his wenym so wyde, that he takyth no fors to dye, parcatur, but that we al mow have oure [e] will through hym, and for none nec ipse sholde be Sparid, and he ne Sparyth hym-Selfe. There-for we will pepercit. wy[th]stonde the begynnynge, and the Perel whyle hit is comyn, are exterae nationes hit be rotyd. For harme wexeth euer wyth longe abydynge. Oure ab ausu londe and oure fredome, defende we manly; So that the slaght tam nefario of this fewe be ferde to many; and by Ensampill of thes, al othyr imperstrangers sholde be aferde, suche folies to begynne, And the mynde *petuum abstru*of vs, wyth-oute ende to abyde." antur.

[CHAPTER VII.]

Macmurgh / on his syde, be-held his men, and Sawe hame Capitulum sore a-bassyd! with wordis that he myght, he confortid vijm. ham on this manere: "Men of leynyster, wych, trusty trouth and comites stydfaste kynde in al aduentures, vs hath fellowis y-made, wyth- indivisos

21

ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. VII, VIII). DUBL. MS.

Let us defend ourselves !

Right, not numbers, win battles.

Be of one heart, and fight!

Fitzstephen makes a speech to the Englishmen.

Troy we get boldness; from France, skill in fight. We come not for hire, or as pirates, but to help a noble man unjustly treated.

From

A. D. 1169. without any partyng, a-ref we our hertes, styfly vs-self to defend. The maistre of wreth and of Couevtise, that with streynth wold vs brynge vnderfoot, and ows ayeyn dryue out of lond, other, that wors is, in the same lond, vs tynken vndo: that god shild! loo, her 4 is I-com vpon our hed, of his mych gaderynge of folke prowt & hautevn. be ve well vndrestond, bat nat trogh gret tale of men [*Fol.5a.] ne trogh greth streynth, both drogh *right and trowth that man hath with hym, battailles doth ouercom. We have for vs, ayeyn 8 har pryd, mekenes; ayayns har vnryght, right and trouth; ayeyn har boldenesse and ouer-truste, mekenesse and maner. Thay fighten for coueytise, for to get good; and we, for to flee harme. with al this we bene in strong place and wel I-warned. The mor 12 that her commeth, the more encombrement we shall do hame, by lityll folk ham to ouercom, so that we be of on hert, and stifly withstond.'

[CHAPTER VIII.]

Than Macmorghe had his tale I-endeth in his speche, 16 Robert Steuenes-son, spake to his felaws and to his meigne on this wise: "flightyng fors, & yongelynges I-corne, that so many perilles have to-geddre I-soffred, and euer in al aduentures, and of heigh hert ibe! If we inly vndrestonde wiche 20 men we ben, with what lodes-man, and for what thynge we this perille vndre-tok with stalwardnesse, as our [wone]vs, we shullen ouercome; & the grace that ye I-haue i-hadde ar this of god, ne shal vs nat forlete. Of the folke of Troy we ben kyndlych y-come, on pat 24 oon half, fro be first begynnyge; of ffraunce, we have kynde on other half. Through kynd of Troy, we owe to be hardy; through kynd of ffraunce, we ben vsed in wepene; & so as we bene of double mane kyndly, of good herth & well y-wepned, & well y-lernet yn 28 wepne, ne dout no man, bat such vnwepned rascavil any power haw ows to wythstond: on that other halue, we come nat yn-to thys land as hyryng men, ne for no couetyse of gold, ne of syluy?, ne galyotz ne robbers; bott for to helpe thys heyth man that ys so 32 noble & so fre, &, progh hys owne men, lodderly was of lond y-dryue. we have reuth of hys harm; & helpeth vp bat adoun was y-brozthe; to hys kynd sted, bryngeth hym bat ynkyndly was

out eny partynge, arrere we vp oure hertes, boldely vs to defende. A.D. 1169. The maystyr of wreth and of couetyse, that wyth streynth wolde oration vs brynge vndyrfote, and vs ayeyn dryue out of londe, Othir, that [in a later hand]. wors is, in the same londe Purposyth vs to vndo / that god guod forbedde / be-holde, here is come vp-on oure hedd, of his mych absit gadrynge of pepill Proute and hauteyn. be ye wel vndyrstond, that not wyth many men, ne wyth grete Streynth, bot by ryght and trouth that man hath with hym, batalis doth ouercome. We haue for vs, ayeyn har pryde, mekenys; ayeynes hare vnryght, ryght and trouth: avevñ har boldnys and ouer-truste, mekenesse and modus et maner. thay fyghtyn for couetyse, forto gete good; And we, to modestia. shonne myschefe. wyth all this, we byth in stronge Place, and well tam arte The more that here comyth, the more encombrement $\frac{quam}{natura}$ warnvď. we shal do ham, by lytill folke ham to ouercome, So that we be of munitissimum. one herte, and styfly wystonde."

[CHAPTER VIII.]

WTHen Macmurgh hadd his tale y-endyd in his speche, Capitulum Roberte Steuenes-Soñe spake to his fellowys, and to them viijm. in this maner Sayde : "Fyghten feris, and yonglynges y-know, that Bellorum socii, so many Perelis haue to-geddyr Sofferid, and euer in al aduentures, adoleand of hey hert ben ! If we Inwardly wndyrstonde what men we scentes electi. ben; wyth what lodes-man, and for what thynge, we this Perel vndirtoke; with boldnys, as we were wonyd, we shall ouercome; and the grace that we have hadd ar this of god, ne shall vs not forsake. // Of * the folke of Troy we Ben Kynly come, on that one syde, fro [*Fol. 5 a.] the fryste begyn[i]nge; of Fraunce, we have kynde on the othyr halfe. Through the kynde of troy, we sholde be bolde; through kynde of Fraunce, we ben wsyd in wepyn; and so as we ben of doubil maner kyndly, of good herte and wel wepenyd, and wel lernyd in wepyñ,-ne dout no man, that Suche vnwepenyd rascaill populum inermem. any Powere haue to vs to wyth-stonde. One that ouer syde, we come not into this londe as wagid men, ne for no couetyse of golde, ne of Syluyr, ne of galiotz, ne robbers ; but forto helpe Non ergo this goode man that is so nobill and so fre, and, wyth his owyn non praemen, wickydly was out of his londe drywe. We have Pite of his dones huc advenimus. harme; and helpyth vp that adound was caste / to his kynde state,

He has given us land. $[^1$ MS. ouer.]

the battle and glory.

makes

Mac-

from

A.D. 1169. theP-of I-bansheth. And he, as largh man & good prynce, hat vs yeuen wyde londes & ryche townes, & owr lond folke wyll setten & planten stydfastly yn bys lond, nowe & euer¹. Therfor, men, full [of] streynth & stalwarthnes, such thyng y-magyneth 4 to-day hartly to do, that owr kynred ne go nat out of kynd. We'll win & yn thys, lynynge ober dey, we manly wyn the pryce, that euer more torne to whyrshyppe vs & al our that aftyr ws shullen come." 8

[CHAPTER IX.]

Wythe these wordes, & other suche, these heghe men comforted har folk, for day schulden have the bettyr wyll well for to fight. And whan day were on every half redy for to O'Conor, doubtful of smyth to-geddre, OConozwyr, be-thozghthyng that the aduentur 12 the issue. of battaylle ben ofte doutouse & myche vncerteyne, And as the terms with whysman seythe 'all tynge me shall assay, rather than fyzth,' murgh, & all-so he & hys doutender well sore to assemble with folke [*Fol.5b.] I-wepned, On al maner that he myzght, * He was abowte thame 16 sholde make peas. thane, throgh besechyng of goode mend that went betwene, & throgh grace of the holy goste, was the peas y-made, on bis maner; that thay shold leve leynester to Maccmorghowe, & he sholde hitt holde of Oconoghour, & 20 who, it is agreed. hym knowlech, & suget be to hym as to a kynge & prynce shall hold of Irland. And pat thys shold be stydfastly I-hold, Macmorgh Roderic, bytok hym hys sone to astage, by so, bat yf he good pees hold, and give him his & trewly hym helde, Oconghur shold hym yeue hys doghter to 24. son as a wyff. What thys was comynly I-shewed & I-knowe, & othes hostage. I-shwerne on every half, all this trewly to hold, Another thyng was bespoke bytwen ham, bott pat preuely, that Macmorgh ne shold nomore brynge vnked mon yn-to the lond, & thay that 28 he hade y-broght, as rathe as he had leynestre yill good pees, he shold anoon send avenne home, & delvueryd be lond of ham.

Maurice Fitzgerald now arrives, with a following, at Wexford.

[CHAPTER X.]

ftyr that be pees was thys Imaket, be host departed, euery on hys half. Sone per-after come Moryce, Geraudes 32 son, Robertes brother, of whom we spoken ar thys, wyth .x. knyghtes & .xxx. Squyres & ij houndred footmen, & ar[y]ued at weysford;

bryngyth hym that vnkyndely was therof y-banshet. And he, A.D. 1169. as large man and good Prince, hath vs yevyid wyde landis and gentem hic nostram in ryche townes; and oure londe-pepill will setten and Planted insula stydfastly in this londe, nowe and euer. Therfor, men full of plantare. streynth and of boldnes, Suche thynge ymagyneth to-day hertely cendo seu moriendo to do, that oure kynred ne go not oute of kynde; and in this, perpetuam lywe or dye, we manly wynn the Pryce, that euer-more shall nobis gloriam tour[n]e to oure wyrchippe, and to al oure that aftyr vs schalle strenuitale comparemus.

[CHAPTER IX.]

WY yth this wordis, and othyr Suche, thes good men confortyd Capitulum hare Pepill, för thay sholdyn haue the bettyr wyll, well ixm. forto fyght. And when thay were on euery halfe redy forto smyte to-geddre, Oconghoure bethoght hym that the aduenture of bataill ben ofte doutfull and mych vncertayn. An[d], as the Wysman Ter. Enn. 1V. vii. 19. Seyth, "Althynge we oghte to assay, radyr than fyght" / And also he and his douteden well sore to fyght wyth Pepill wepenyd. On al maner that he myght, he was besy to have Pees. Then, by the besechynge of good men that wente betwene, and through grace of the holy goste, was the Pees mad on this maner; that thay sholde leue leynystere to Macmurgh, and he sholde hite holde of Oconghoure, and hym knowlech, and Subjecte be to hym as to a kynge and Prynce of Irland. And that this sholde be stydfastly holde, Macmurgh toke hym his sone to hostage, by So, yf he good Pees filium helde, and trewely hym helde, Oconghoure sholde hym yeue his Cnudoghter to wyfe. whan this was comynly shewyd and know, and churum. othis sword on every Syde, al this trewely to kepe, Anothyr thynge was spokyn be-twen them, bothe that Pryuely, that Macmurgh ne sholde no more strangeres brynge into the londe; And thay that he hadd broght, as Sone as he hadd levnystere in good Pees, he statim remilteret. shold Sende them home, and delyuere the londe of hame.

[CHAPTER X.]

Aftyr that the Pees was thus made, the hoste departyd; on Capitulum his halue. Sone there-aftyr come Morice, Geraudis Sonne *, [*Fol.5b.] Robert-is Brodyr, of whom we Spokyn ar this, Wyth x Knyghtis and xxx^{ti} Squyeris, and two hundred fotemen, and londid at A. D. 1169. A man full quevnt, trow trogh al thynge, & stalwarth, & stydfast of word, & of hert symple, & shamffast as a mayd. Waw Macmorgh & Robert hyt wysten, thay weren ful glad, & bolder pan thay before were : thay come to ham sone wyth be oste bat thay had. 4 Macmurgh Macmorgh be-thoght hym of the mych vnryght that be men of determines deuelyng hym hadden done, & hys fader all-so, many sithe: to attack Dublin; he assembled hys hostes, & redied hym to wend thedere. Boot and goes, Robert byleft with somdell of be meyne, fore to rere hym a castell 8 accompanied by at a place that me clepeth be karryke, & ys twey myle out Fitzof weysford ; & Moryce went wyth hym. Macmorgh, as mayster stephen. & leder of the host, & cheuetayn of al. In lytell whyle, all be contreys about dyuelyn, wyth robynge & bernyng & sleyng, 12 weren¹ neght I-broght to noght. The sitezeyns of dyuylyn, whan [1 MS. wepen.] thay thys wysten, thay sentten to ham, & besoghten pees, & yaue The ham so mych gold & syluer that non end was at har wylle, citizens submit and & good ostages, & othes I-[s] wore that pay sholden to Macmorgh 16 acknowtrew be, & hym knowleche pan-forward as lord & prynce. Fro ledge Macmurgh that tyme that thys was y-do, ther was noon Iryshman yn as their leynnester, of hey kyne ne of low, that for seruesse² of englysselord. l² for ferd- men ne yeldet hym to Macmorgh, so pat per was noght of pe 20 nesse?] lond-folke bat all nas subjett to hym, & redy to hys wylle.

[CHAPTER XI.]

TN thys whyle, wax a grett wreth & a grete stryfe betwyx O'Conor makes war be kyng of Connaght, & donoll Obreyn, be kyng [of] lymeryke, on O'Brien of Limerick & of thomond. the kyng of connaght, Oconoghur, gaddered hys 24 [*Fol.6a.] hostes for to werr vpon Obreen. Obreen sent * to mamorrowz, for allyaunce that was betwen ham, that he shold hym helpe. he spake and sends per-of to Robert & to Moryce, & bad ham that pay shold go theder Fitzstephen for to helpe Obreen. Thay name har men wyth ham, & wenten 28 anđ Maurice to ynto thomond, and ffonden Oconoghur, that stryffly stode ayeyn oppose ham, & many fyghtes ham yaue. Bot the dysconfitur turned vpon him. O'Conor is Oconoghur, & many of hys men wer I-sleyn, so that wythe shame defeated, he most turne ayeyn ynto Connaght. And fro that tym, Obreen 32 and O'Brien wythdrow hym from Oconoghur, & neuer after was subject to hym becomes as he was thar-by-fore; & the englysh hoste, wyth grett gettynges independent & with rych viftes, turned ayeyne yn-to leynestre. of him.

RAWL. MS.] DUBLIN TAKEN. O'CONOR BEATEN BY O'BRIEN.

weysford. A man full quent, trew throw al thynge, bolde, and A.D. 1169. stydfaste of word, and of hert sympil, and shamefaste as a mayd // Whan Macmurgh and Robert hadd wyttynge of Morice-is comynge, they weryn full glad, and boldyr than thay before were. thay came to tham Sone with the hoste that thay hadde / Macmurgh bethoght hym of the mych wronge that the men of Deuelyn to hym grares hawydyn done, and his fadyr also, many tymys : he assemblid his $\frac{Dubli}{nensium}$ hostes, and made hym redy thedyr forto goo. But Robert lefte injurias. wyth some of the meyngne forto rere hym a castel at a Place that is callid the Karryke, and is two myle out of weysford; And Morice went with hym. Macmurgh as gouernoure and ledere of the hoste and capytan of all. In lytell Processe of tyme, al the contreis about deuelyn, wyth Robynge and brennynge and kyllynge of pepill, weryn al-meste broght to noght // The Citseynys ad exterof deuelyn, whan thay of this had wyttynge, thay Sendyn and minium fere besoght Pees, and yaue hame so myche golde and Siluyr that none redacto. ende was at har will, and good hostagis, and othis Sworne that thay Sholdyn to Macmurgh be trewe, and hym knowlege as lord and Fro that tyme that this was done / ther was none Prvnce. Irysh-man in leynystre, of hey kyn ne of low, but that, for fere of Englysh-men, thay yaue hame to Macmurgh, So that ther was none of the londe-pepill, that al nas subject to hym, and redy to his wille /

[CHAPTER XI.]

 \mathbf{I}^{N} this tyme, rose grete debate and wrete be-twyxe the Capitulum kynge of Connaght, and Donalde Obreyn, the kynge of \mathbf{x}^{j^m} . [Fol. 6 a.] lymerike, and of thomonde. the kynge of Connaght, Oconghoure, gaderid his hostes forto werre vp-on obreyn. Obreyn Sende to Macmurgh, for allyaunce that was betwen ham, that he sholde hym helpe. He Spake therof to Robert and to Morice, and bade them that th[a]y sholde go thedyr forto helpe obreyn. Thay, and har men wyth hame, and wentyn Into thomonde, and foundyn oconghoure, that styfly stode a-yennes hame, and many fightes hame yaue. post But the dis-comfyture turned vp-on oconghoure; and many of his conflictus men were sleyn, So that wyth shame he myste tyrne into ubique connaght. / And fro that tyme, Obreyn wythdrowe hym from victoria potitus. oconghoure, and neuer aftyr was subjecte to hym as he was ther-to-forn. And the Englysh hoste, wyth grete gettynges and wyth ryche yftis, turned ayen Into Leynystre.

[CHAPTER XII.]

A. D. 1169. Macmurgh aspires to be king of

> Fitzstephen and Maurice, whom he consults. advise him to bring over more Englishmen.

letter to Earl Richard urging him to come over.

Tacmoro; w; ch sawe the englysshe-men so stalwarth that L no power might ham wythstond. he bethoght hym of thynge that was passed, & that sume of hys eldre to-fore hym all Ireland. hadden somtyme the kynge-dome of all Irland, & that al the 4 lond was subvet to hym : he wold, by hys myght, by ryght of hys eldrew, brynge hyt yn-to the self state, that al be lond shold be vnder hys lordshyppe, as hyt was wndre hys eldren to-fore hýs tým. Of þys týnge he spak preuely wýth Robert, & wyth 8 Moryce, & besoght har consayll therof; And pay hym answerd, & seiden, that 'lyghtly that myght be done, yf he wold make come more plente of englyssh men ynto be lond.' he bad ham well porwe, that thay sholden yn al manere senden after more of har 12 kyn & frendshype. & for thay shold the bettyre wyll haue ther-to, he profred ham to yeue hys eldest doghtre to on of ham, whych hyre so wold, wyth all hys lond aftyr hys day. bot, fore euery of ham had wyf & I-spoused that tyme, after mych_spech, & 16 many dalyaunce ther-of at thys consaylle, thay thoght but he, to the erle Rychard, (of whom we have ar thys I-spoke, & to whom he behete the same doghter ther-to-fore at Brystowe,) hys lettres He sends a shold send on thy's maner : " C Dermot Macmorgh, priynce of 20 leynestre, to Rychard, Gylbertes son, erle of strugoyl, sendeth grettynge. If you rekenest the tyme that ys Igoo, as well as we that nede haue, our mone nys ycome to be no rather than hys tyme. Storkes & swalewes, & oper somer foules, we have 24 aftyre I-loked : thay comen, & wyth be cold north-westre wind bay ben awey ywent. Bot thy comynge, that we so mych haue desyred & so longe I-loked after, nether estren wyn[d]e, ne noon other, vs ne hath I-send, as thou vs be-hete. perfor, that thou ne 28 hast y-dene troght some grete lette, hastyly be about to do; for that wer al our gladnes, that thou hast swyth. If pou stalwardly comest, & wyth good myght, the four partyes of Irland shal sone be turned to be fyft." Whan the erle had thys I-hard, he was 32

[*Fol.6b.] yn many thoghtes; & aftyr many selcouth * & dyuers redes, at the last he bethoght hym, that so fewe men as weren yn-to the lond I-come ther-to-fore, hadden yn so lytyll whyll so well I-sped of har aduentures: he name to hym the better herte, & thynge 36 RAWL. MS.] MACMURGH ASKS FOR MORE ENGLISH TROOPS.

[CHAPTER XI1.]

Acmurgh sawe the Englysh-men so bolde, that no man Capitulum myght ham wythstond. he be-thoght hym of thynge xijm. that was passed, and that some of his eldryn to-fore hym haddyn some tyme the kyngedome of al Irland, and that al the land was subjecte to hym. he wolde, by his myght / by ryght of eldryn, ad avita et brynge hit Into the same state, that al the londe sholde be vndyr *jura*. his lordshipe, as hit was * Vndyr His eldryn to-fore His tyme. Of [*Fol.6b.] this thynge He Spake wyth Robert and wyth Moryce, and be-soghte har consayle vp-on this. And thay hym answerid, and sayd, that 'lyghtly that myght be done, yf he wolde make come more Plente hoc facile of Englysh-men into the londe.' He Prayed ham, that in al haste fieri posse. thay sholde sende aftyr more of hare kyn and hare frendis. and for thay sholde haue the bettyr will therto, he profered hame to yeue his eldyst doghtyr to one of ham, whych hyr so wolde, with al the londe aftyr his day. but, for every of hame hadd wyfe, and legitime spoused that tyme, Aftyr mych spech, and many delyaunce therof copula gaudebat at this consayle, thay thoght that he, to the erle richard (of whom *uterque*. we have ar this spoke, and to whom he promysyd the same doghtyr there-to-for at Brystowe,) his letteres sholde sende on this manere // " Dermot Macmurgh, Prince of leynystere, to Richard, Gylbertes sone, Erle of strugoil, sendyth gretynge. If ye have Ovid, E_p . rekenyd the tyme that is I-goo, as wel as we that nede haue, oure Her. ii. 7. compleynte is not come to yow no radyr than this tyme. Storkys and swalewes, and othyr Somyr fowlis, we have aftyr a-waytid: thay comyn; and with the colde north weste wynde thay ben circio jam away I-went. But youre comynge, that we so mych haue desyrid fante nec favonius and so longe lokid aftyr, nethyr estryn wynd, ne none othyr, vs ne nec eurus. hath sende, as ye vs promysid. Ther-for [as] ye ne haue this doñe but through some grete lette, hastely be a-but to do; for that were al oure gladnys, that ye haste blywe. Yf ye boldely come, and wyth good streynth, the foure Parties of Irland' shal sone be turned to de facili the fyfte" // Whan the Erle hadd this hard, he was in many converthoghtis; and aftyr many and dyuers thoghtes, at the laste he be-thoght hym, that so few men as weryn into the londe y-come ther-to-fore, haddyn in so lytill tyme so wel y-spede of har aducatures: he hade the bettyr herte, and thynge that he dowtted

A.D. 1160.

A. D. 1169-70. The Earl resolves on the

that he douted myche ther-by-fore to begyne, he wax tho the bolder to tak an hond. Fro that tyme, al hys thoght & all hys wille was, nyghte & day, wyth all hys myzth to wend in-to Irland. enterprise. He went hym to be kyng henry, & hym swith be-soght bat he shold 4 delyuer hym hys londes pat sholden be hys by ryght of herytage, other yeue hym leue to do hym yn adventur, lond to purchace yn vnked land.

A.D. 1170.

He sends Reymond le Gros to Ireland. who lands near Waterford, ab. May 1, 1170.

He is attackt by the Waterford men and O'Phelan,

and is forced to retreat to his camp.

[CHAPTER XIII.]

Than the Kynge wyst hys entent, whoder he wold go, 8 he ne yaue hym fully leue, ne fully hym ne warned; bot wyth such leue as he had, he dight hym be wynter tyll the begynny [n] ge of Maye. He sent to-for hym ynto Irland A knyght that was I-called Reymond le gras ;---wyth hym, x knytghtes, & 12 fourty Squyers, & four score bowmen; - A man ful hardy & stalwarde, & well proued yn wepne, Robertis neueu, & Moryces, har eldest brother, sone. Thay arryued at a place i-called dundoneuile, four myle a south halfe Waterford; & ther thay arered 16 a dyche, & a feble castel vpon, of yardes and turues¹. The men of Watterford, & wyth ham Malaghelyn of olan, thys waren I-ware that thay y-hadden such neghborhede ful loth, & toke ham to rede, bat bay wolden vpon ham, ar mo com to ham. Thay 20 assembled ham togeddre, well thre thousand men, & wenten ouer the wattyr of sur, that parteth the twey contres of leynestre & of mounestre, & setten ham yn thre hostes, ful boldely for to assaville the englysshe-men with-In har castell. Reymond & hys 24 men-thogh they fewe wer, they wer nat feynt-with vneuenly host wenter out & assembled wyth ham. Bot, as no wonder was, so few men ne myght nat all priuely fyghten ayeyn so many, thay turned ham aye to har recet. the other weneded that thay 28 departed yn dyscomfyte; thay braken har sheld. In, & wentten aftyr: & thay war nat fully wythyn be yate, that some of ham ner rather In than be englyssh. Reymond saw that he & hys weren yn gret perylle, & vpon poynt to lese the lyfe. he be-cryed 32 hys felewes, & turned stalwarthly vpon her formen²; & be fyrste that come yn, he claue hym the heed, & throgh slaght of that ¹ MS. iurues, or inrues. ² men in front.

RAWL. MS. THE ENGLISH BEAT BACK THE WATERFORD MEN.

A.D. mych ther-be-for to begyn, he wax than the boldyr to take an 1169-70. honde. Fro that tyme, al his thoght and al his will was, nyght vel in and day, wyth al his myght to wende into Irland. He went then exteris regionibus to the kynge, and besoght hym that he shold delyuere hym his se fatis et londis that sholdyn be his by ryght of heritage, othyr yeue hym commitleue to do hym in aduenture, londe for to Purchase in vnkyd tendi land. daret.

[CHAPTER XIII.]

Than the kynge vndyrstode his entente, whedyr he wolde Capitulum goo, he yaue hym not full leue, ne fully be-name hym not; quasibut with suche leue as he hadd; he dight hym the wyntyr till the *licentia*, begynnynge of may / he Sende to-for hym into Irland'a knyght that inamque was callid" Reymond Legras ;- wyth hym, x knyghtis and fourty magis quam Squyeris, and foure score bowmen;-A man ful hardy and bolde vera. and wel proued in wepyn, Robert-is eme ², and Morices, have eldyts [² eme, uncle, is brodyr, sone. Thay londyd at a place that is y-callid Dundonenyld, 'nephew' four Mile on the Sowth syde of watyrford; and there they rerid a $\frac{\text{in this}}{\text{MS.}}$ dyche, and a febill castel vpon, of Iardis and turues *. The men of [*Fol.6b.] Watyrford, and wyth ham Malaghelyn Of olan, this waryn y-ware ex rirgis that thay haddyn such neghboris, that ham were loth ³; and toke ^{et cespite.} ham to consayle, that thay wolde vp-on ham, ar mo come to hame. Thay gaderid ham to-gaddyr, wel iije. Mt. men, and wentyn ouer the watyr of Sure, that partyth the two contreis, that is to Say leynystre and mounestre, And settyn ham in thre hostis, ful boldely forto assayle the Englysh-men with-In har castel. Reymond and his men (thegh thay fewe were, they were not feynte) with few pepill wentyn out, and mete with hame. But, as no woundyr hit was, so few men myght not al plenary fyghten ayeyn so many, that de plano turned ham to thare recette. the othyr wende that thay depertid non potuit. in descomfite; thay brakyn har sheldrun, and wentyn aftyr. and intra thay were not fully wythin the gate, that some of hame nere valvas vix plene radyr In than the English. Reymond saw that he and his were suspensas certatim in grete Pereil, and on Poynte to lese here lyfe. he cried on his intrando fellowis, and tyrned boldely vp-on here enemys. and the fryst that susce-perunt. come In, he clewe his hede. and through deth of that o man, al the

¹ R. Legras. ³ Exterorum viciniam suspectam habentes, v. 248. 31

licentiam A. D. 1170. THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XIII). DUBL. MS.

A. D. 1170. mail, all the ost was dyscomfyte, & tok ham to flyght. The

He turns on his assailants. them with

William Ferand shows special bravery.

Seventy men were taken prisoners; and it is debated what to do with them.

Reymond tries to save them:

oper ham folwed yn-to all be pleyn, & leyd ham on so, bat yn lytell whyll thay slowe of ham fyfe 1 hundred & mo; & pe most parte of be other fellen adon yn-to be see, of be heye rokes, & 4 and repels drent ham-selfe. In thys fyght, was a knyght that hete Wyllyam heavy loss. ferand, that dydde ouer-well & aboue all other: he was a mail that hade semblant as thoght he wer on the mich yuell, & per-for

[* Leaf 7.] he put hym-selue² alwey ther * the most perille was; ffor he ne 8 raght thegh deth come betwene hym & hys yuell, ar hyt war to mych I-smyt vpon hym. Her be pryd of waterford felle; her all hys myght went to noght; her-of come the Englysshe hope & comfort; & to the Iresshe, dred & wanhope; ffor hyt was neuer 12 ther-to-for I-herd, that of so fewe men, so grett a slaght was done. Bot lyder consaylle thay dydden per-after, that turned ham to mych cruelte; ffor whan the maystry was al har, & al har fomen ouercome, In be fyght weren ytake well thre score men & ten, 16 that ham volden, & weren the heghest & the rychyst of al the site, such bat bay myght have had for ham the site delyuered, or els as myche catel as thay wolden desy?. Heruy of Mountmorthy, that to ham was ycome, hym thrydsome of knyghtes, & Reymond, 20 vp dyuers domes stroug what men shold do wyth har prysons 3;

ffor Reymond trauayllet about for to dylyuere ham, as a man of reuthful mode, & pus seyd to hys feres: "lordynges, what ys vs to done of our wreched prisoners ? I sey nat that man 4 shal on 24 any maner spar hys foman; bot thay beth nat now fomen, both⁵ beth men nat rebelle, bot yn bataylle for to defend 6 har contrey ouercome. Me thynketh thay beth now yn such state, that me oght bettyr haw mercy of ham & yeve ham lyfe, for to yeue other 28 ensample to be boxom, than cruely to do ham to deth, wharthrogh pat other, throgh ferdnesse of trust, be lasse to yeld ham to vs." Whan Reymond had such wordes I-seyde, yn al be folke

but Hervey was moste wi[lle]⁷ to graunt ham lyf, Arose vp Heruy amonge 32 opposes him.

¹ MS. lyfe. ² MS. sleue. ³ pryson = prisoner. ⁴ MS. maner. ⁵ but: Sed hi non hostes jam, sed homines.-Op. v. 250. ⁶ MS. defond. ⁷ The ink has perisht: 'et murmure populi cum quodam quasi favore subsecuto,' Gir, Camb., Exp. Hib. c. xv.-Op. v. 252, Rolls Series.

hoste was dys-comfite and toke ham to flyght / The othyr ham A.D. 1170. folwid into al the Playñ, and leyde on ham. So that in lytyl space of tyme thay kyllyd of ham v. C. and mo; and the most ab altis in Parte of the othyr fellyn adovid into the see, of the hey Rokys, mare rupi-bus praeand dreynt ham-selfe // In this fyght was a knyght that was cipitati callid William ferrand, that did ful wel and abowe al othyr; infiniti. ¹he was a man that hade semblant as thegh he were on the mych yuel; and therfor he Putte hym-Selfe at tymys ther the moste Peryl was. For he roght not thegh dethe come between hym and his Sekenys, or hit were mych grow on hym¹ / Here the Pryde of Watyrforde felle; here al his myght went to superbia noght; her-of come the Englysh hope and conford; and to the cecidit. Irysh, dred and wanhope. For hit was neuer ther-to-fore herde horror . . that, of So few men, so grete a slaghte was done. But a lewid desperatio. consayle thay diddyn, that ther-aftyr turned ham to myche cruelte. For whan the Mastry was al hare, and al hare enemys ouercome, In the fyght weryn take wel iije score men and ten that septuaham yeldyn, and weryn the beste and the rycheste of the Cite, ginta cives. Such that thay myght have hade for them the Cite delyuerid, or els as mych ryches as thay wolde desyre. Heruey of montmurthy, pecuniam infinitam. that to ham was come, hym thyrdsome of knyghtis, and Reymond, vp-on dyuers consaylis thoghten what thay sholde do wyth har Prysoneris. For Reymond laborid for thar delyverance, as man of pitefull herte / And thus sayd to his fellowis: "Lordynges, what is vs to done wyth oure wrechid presoners ? I Sey not that man de captivis shal on any maner spare his enemys; but thay byth nat now nostris. enemys; but byth men not rebell, but in bataill forto defende har contrey ouercome. Me-thynkyth thay byth now in such state, that we owyth bettyr haue mercy of ham and yeue ham lyfe, forto potius . . yeue othyr ensampill to be boxume, than cruely to do ham to pietas ad exemplum. deth; wher-for otheris wil truste the lasse to yelde ham to vs." quam cru-delitas ad *Whan Reymond Hade Suche Wordys y-Seyde, and al the fello- tormentum. shippe Was most about to graunt ham lyfe, Aros vp heruey nev [*Fol.7a.]

D

 $^{^{1-1}}$ vir carne quidem infirmus, sed corde firmissimus : imminentem, ut videbatur, leprae malitiam morte nimirum praevenire desiderans tam praematura quam praeclara.—Op. v. 249.

A.D. 1170. hame al, & thys ham seyd: "Inogh Reymond openly to vs hath Enough of spoke of mercy & almes-dedes, vnked landes I-wonne, & nat wyth Mercy ! slagh & wyth brenny [n] ge. Wheder Alexander & Iulius Cesar, Did Alexander that weren lordes of al pe world, wonnen londes by such wey, 4 win by it? I wold Reymond wold me answer. Whan thay comend to vs vel arrayede to fyghten, If pay hadde I-won ouer-hand & vs ouercome,

the rebels quietly,

or go home!'

As no gallows are handy, the rebels are drownd.

Earl Richard Struguil

lands at fulfilling prophecies of Merlin and the Irish Saint Moling.

Reimund joins him. They assault Waterford, Tuesday, Aug. 25.

wolden thay, for almesse & for reuth, haw had mercye of vs ? nay, I trow nat. perfor out-chese on of two: Other do manly thynge, s Either kill wher-fore we bene ycome; & the folke bat ys rebbell aveyn vs. wyth-outten any noyse, wyth wepne hertely brynge out of dawes; Other, yf we shollen do almes dede on hem, & ham sparen, as Reymond hath seyd, out we wend to our shyppes, & turne ayeyil, 12 & let we the wreched men hold har lond, & brouken wythouten any chalange." Heruyes dome lyket bettre than Reymondes; & weren the Cytezeyns to deth Idemed. Thay ne hadden no wone of warytres; & perfor bey ladden ham to be clyf of be see, & put 16 ham adoun, & drent ham.

[CHAPTER XIV.]

The men-tyme, the Erl Rychard, wyth the power that he had arayed, was y-come to south wales; & whan he hadde [*Fol.7b.] wyth * gret reuerence y-done hys pylrimage at sent dauyes, he put 20

hym to saylle, & hade good wynd, came ynto Irland with two hundret knythtes & other, mor than a thousand. He arryued at Waterford, weyseford on seynt Bertylmewes euen: Than was fulfylled a prophecye that Merlyn seyd of hys comynge; 'be brond shal 24 come to-fore be borned fyr; And rygh as the spark maked the brond come, Also be brond shal make the fyr come after.' Anoper prophecye, seynt Molynge seyd of that same: 'A mych man shall erne to-fore; & be most heeddes of desmond & ek of leynestre 28 he shal defouly; & wyth streynth he shall noblych the wey opne to the wepned.' Amorow, whan the tythynge of ham was I-spronge, Reymond went hym to the Erle with furty knyghtes with mych gladnes; & amorow, after be holy-daye, Thay went 32 comynly al to be syte of Waterford, & assaylled the toun ful fersly; & twyes thay weren rebuked, & ful stalwarhly, of be Cytezeyns. Reymond, that by purueaunce & graunt of ham al was ymade

amonge ham al, and thus ham Sayde: "I-nowe Reymond opynly to A.D. 1170. vs hath Spoke of mercy and almes-deddes, vn-kyd landis to wynñe and nat wyth Slaght and wyth brennynge. whedyr Alexandyr and Iulyus Cesar, that weryn lordys of al the worlde, wonnen londis by such wey, I wold Reymond wolde me answere. whan thay Cum ad commyn to vs wel arrayed to fyghten, If thay had the bettyr, and nos expugvs had ouercome, woldyn thay, for almesse and for Pite, haue had instructis aciebus mercy of vs ? Nay, y trow not. ther-for chese one of two: Othyr adveto do manly thynge, wher-for we ben come; and the Pepill that is nerunt. rebel ayeynnes vs, wythouten eny noyse, wyth wepyn hertely berewys ham of lyfe / Othyr, yf we shall do almysdede on them, and ham spare, as Reymond hath Sayd, go we to oure shippis, and turnne ayeyne, and lete we the wrechyd pepil holde har lond, and kepyn without any chalange." Herueyes Iugement Plesid bettyr membris than Reymondes; and weryn the Citteseynnes to deth demyd. in maris Thay had no galosis; and therfor thay laddyn ham to the clyfe praecipi-tium dati of the See, and put ham adoun, and drovnde ham al. sunt.

[CHAPTER XIV.]

The men-tyme, the Erle Rychard, wyth the Power that he Capitulum had arraied, was come to Suth Walis; and When he had xiiijm. with grete reuerence done his Pylgrymage at Seynt Dauyes, he Put hym to sayle, and had good wynd, come into Irland wy[th] two hundryd knyghtis and othyr, more than a thousand. he londid at Weysford on Seynt Bartolomewes evyn. Then was fulfillid a pprophesy that Merlynge Sayde of his comynge: "The prophetia brond shal come to-for the brennynge fyre, And ryght as the Merlini. Sparke makid the brond come, Also the brond shall make the fyre come aftyr." Anothyr prophesy, Molynge Sayd of that same : prophetia "A mych man shal erne to-for; and the moste hedis of desmond Molyng. and also of levnystre he shal defeuly; and wyth streynth he shal capita connobelych the wey opyn to the wepenyd." A-morrow, whan the culcans. thythyngis spronge, Reymond went to the Erle with fourty knyghtis with mych gladnys; and amorrow, aftyr the holy day thay went holy to the Cite of Watyrford, and assaylid the toun bis viriful fresly; and twyes they weryn rebukyd; and ful boldely, of the $\frac{liter}{repulsi}$ Citteseynes. Reymond, that by Purueyaunce and graunt of ham fuissent.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XV). DUBL. MS.

A.D. 1170. prince, & forman of al the host, sawe & awayted a place good for

They take

Macmurgh's daughter Eve is married to Earl Struguil.

to assaylle: he cryed & cleped the wepned men to the assaut, & pay egrely assaylleden, & braken yn-to pe syte, & folke-mele Waterford, slowe the men yn weyes & yn houses, & wan be Cyte. In 4 rathnyldes tour weren twey ryche men ytake, bot progh prayer of Macmorgh, that theder was than I-come, he was y-hold alvue. Macmorgh broght hys doghtyr with hym, Eue by name, & spoused hyr to the Erle, & maden fast sekernesse betwen ham. Wan thys 8 was ydo al, be Erle left men for to kepe the cytè, & turned hym with the hoste to deuylyn.

[CHAPTER XV.] racmorgh wyst that myche of the power of har lond

They march, thro' Glendalough hills, to Dublin.

Reimund and Miles of Cogan assail and take Dublin.

Hasculf escape.

was I-come to helpen ham of dyuelyn, & hadden beset 12 all be wodde weyes & be narow weys thetherward: he left tho weyes, & lad the hoste throught the montaynes of Glyndelagh, al harmeles, right to the syte. These cytezeyns, ouer al other, hated weren of hym, & that was no wonder; ffor yn some tyme thay 16 slowen hys fadyr yn the cyte; & after the harme, thay dydde hym mych sham, for thay burryd an hounde with hym yn the pute that he was yn I-leyde. Thay sent messagers to be Erle, & namely the Erchebysshop laurence, & besoghted pees; & as thay 20 weren spekyng of pees, on oon half was Reymond, & on the other halue a ful hardy knyght, Myles of Cogan, with yonglynges well coueytouse of battaylle & of gettyng. Thay assaylled the Cytè, & breken In, & wan be Cytè, wyth gret slaght of be sytzeyns. 24 [*Fol.8a.] * Natheles, the best parte of ham, with be rychest & the derwarthest

thyngys bat thay hadden, yn botes escapeden, & wenten yn-to be north ylondes, wyth hastoyl, that was maystre yn the cyte, & richest folk har lodesman. That day byfel two Muracles yn the cyte: that 28 on of the Croice, yn the moder chyrche of be trynyte, whyche the Cytzeyns wolden haue I-ladde with ham yn-to the ylandes yn the see; & for nothyng, thay ne myghth yt wecched out of be place. That other, of a sergeant that hadde I-robbet the erche- 32 bysshoppes paleys, & per-after come to-for be rode, & offred a peny: fyrst, & efte-sone, & at euery tym, the peny stert ayeyne to hym. he bethoght hym that god was nat wel I-quenyted of the robbery

al was made Prynce and forman of al the hoste, Saw and a-waytyd A.D. 1170. a place goode forto assayle. he cried and callid the wepenyd men to the assaute and thay egyrly assaylid, and brakyn Into the Cite, and kyllid the men in weyes and in houses, and wan the Cite. in rathnyldys toure weryn two ryche men take, and thay both were be-hedyd. Macsaghlyn of olan was also take, but throgh Prayer Melaghlin of Macmurgh, that ther was than y-come, he was holde alyue. O'Phelan is taken, Macmurgh broght his doghtyr wyth hym, Eue by name, and but kept Spousid hyr to the Erle and madyn fast syckyrnys betwene *Ham// ^{alive.} Whan this was done al / the Erle Lefte men forto Kepe the Cite [*Fol.7b.] and turnyde hym with the hoste to deuelyn //

[CHAPTER XV.]

Macmurgh vndyrstode that myche of the pepill of the Capitalum contrey was come to helpe ham of the Cite of deuelyn, xvm. and hadde be-sette al the wodd-weyes and the Narrow-weyes vias nemothedyrward. He lefte thay weyes, and lad the hoste throw the arctas montanys of Glyndelagh, al holde and sound, tyl thay come to the Cite. The Citteseynes ouer al othyr hatid Macmurgh; and they wer hatyd of hym: and that was no wondyr. For in some tyme thay slowyn his fadyr in the Cite; and aftyr the harme, thay dyd hym moche shame, for thay buryed an hounde with hym in the cum cane buryles that he was In-leyde. Thay send messangeris to the Erle, *cives tunu- larerunt*. and namely the archebyschope Laurance, and besoghten Pees; and as thay weryn Spekyn of pees, on oone halue was Reymond and on the othyr syde a ful hardy knyght, Miles de Cogan, with yonglynges wel couetos of batail and of getynge: They assaylid the Cite, and brokyn In, and toke the Cite with grete slaghte of the Citesenes. Natheles, the beste parte of ham, with the rychest and the wourdyest thynges that thay haddyn, in botis escapedyn, and wentyn into the naves et north ylondes wyth hastoyl, that was Captayn in the Cite, and har scaphas ... gouernoure / That day befel two Miraclis in the Cite: that one, of the cros in the Cee churche of the trynyte, wych the Citteseynes wold have take wyth ham into the Ilandys in the see / And for no thyng thay myght not take hit out of the place. That othyr, of a Sergeant that had yrobyd the archebysshope-is Place; and r_{Topo-} ther-aftyr come to-for the rode, and offerid a peny: fryst, and graphia' he decla-ratur. aftyr, and in euery tyme, the peny styrte ayeyñ to hyñ. bethoght hym that god was not aplesid of the robery that he had Op. v. 129.

38 THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XV, XVI). [DUBL. MS.

A.D. 1170. that he had y-do: he turned hym than, & let take al that he

had y-nom¹, & bar hyt ayeyn, & went to be rode & offred; & hy[s] offrynge the[r] abode. Whan be Erl hade a few dayes Earl Struguil I-ordyned for the stat of pe Cytè, he left ther Myles de Cogan, 4 leaves a keper of be Cytè & of be contre, & a partye of be meyne with force in Dublin, hym. And by entycement of Macmorgh, that bethoght hym of be old enmyte that he hade to the kynge of Mithe, he went hym to be contrey, branten, slowen, & robeden, & broghten the contre 8 and ravages to noght, for none ne durst hym wythe-stond. Oconghur of Meath. O'Conor of Conaght saw that he was the next-as man that see the hys Connaught neghbors hous berne, he may drede of be sparkes - he sent Messagers to Macmorgh yn thys wordes: "Ayeyne be fourme 12 reproaches of our pees, thou hast imad come yn-to thys lond mych out-Maccomen folke. be whylle that thou held the yn thy levnystre, murgh, we hyt tholleth euvnly; Now thou, as man that naght ne the

thynkest on thyn oth, ne no reuth ne hast of thyn ostage, the 16 merres I-sete of thyn eldren lond, vnryghtfullyo uergoste. Make thýn out-comen men wýth-draw, & turne aýeýne, or els sothly we shul the send thy sones heede." Macmorgh thys herd, & yaf hym a prout answar, & sent hym to sey, that he ham wold hold, 20 & send after more & eke more; that he nold neuer reste tyl he hadde I-wonne Connaght, wyth the kynge-dome of al be lond, as hys eldred sumtym hyt hadded to for hym. Oconnoghur had her of grete dyspyte, & sore was atened, & let smyth of sonnes 24 heed, bat he had hym Itake fore ostage. son's head.

[CHAPTER XVI.]

A Council of the Irish clerics is held at Armagh. The country's ill has come from enslaving English children.

and cuts off his

ftyr this, worth gret spech yn-to all pe lond, & A mych ferdnesse of the out-comen men. Than gaddered ham al to-gedderes, al the clerkes & the wysmen of be lond at 28 ardmagh; & of thys folkes comyng, was mych I-spoke, & longe dalyaunce. At be laste, comynly thay accordeden al her-to, that, for the syn of be folk, thys mesaduentur ham ys byfal; namely, that whan thay fonder englysshe-men chyldren to syllen, that 32 chepmen & robbers woldene brynge to the lond, thay * were wonet [*Fol.8b.] to by ham, & do ham yn thraldome ; & that through goddy's owne

¹ MS. ymon.

done. he turned hym than, and toke al that he toke wyth hym, A.D. 1170. and bare hit ayeyñ, and went to the rode, and offerid; and his offerynge ther abode. / When the Erle had a few dayes y-ordaynyd for the state of the Cite, he lefte there myles de Cogan, kepere of the Cite and of the contrey, and a partey of the meynne wyth hym. And by entycement 1 of Macmurgh, that be-thoght hym of 1 instinctu. the olde enemyte that he had to the kynge of Myth, he went hym As Macmurgh to the contrey, brantyn, Slouedyñ and robedyñ, and broghten the hated contrey to noght, for non ne durst hym wythstond. Oconghoure O'Rourke of Meath of connaght Saw that he was the nexte, (as a man that seth his (p. 2-4), Meath is evyncrystyñ his house brenne, he may dred the sparkys;) he send wasted. messangeres to Macmurgh in these wordis: "Ayeyne the forume of in insulam oure pees, thow haste made come into this londe mych strange advocasti... pepill. the whyle that thow helde the in thy leynystre we hit nimiter sustinuitollid euynly. Now thow,-as man that noght rekyth of his mus. trouth, ne no pite hauest of thyn hostage,-the meris y-sette² of-² metas positas . . thyn eldryñ lond, vnryghtfully ouer-goste³. Make thy strangeres * [* Fol.8a.] Wyth-draw, and turne ayeyne; othyr ellys Sothly we shall the ³ insolenter sende thy Sonnys hede." Macmurgh this herde, and to hym yaue excessisti a prowte answere, and Sende hym to Say, that 'he ham wold holde, and send aftyr more, and eke more, / ande that he wold neuer reste, til he had take and conquerid al connaght, with al the kyngdome of al the lond, as his predessessouris had to-for hym.' Oconghoure here-of had grete indignacion, and gretly ther-of was indignans grewid; And he comandid to Smyte of his Sones hede, that he yafe Rothericus hym for an hostage.

[CHAPTER XVI.]

Aftyr this, Spronge grete Spech in-to al the lond, and Capitulum mych dreded the strange comen men. Than gadderid ^{xvjm}. ham to-gederes al the clerkys and the wysmen of the land at Ardmagh; and of this pepil-is comynge, was mych Speche and longe delyaunce. At the last, comynly thay acordid al herto, that, for the synne of the Pepill, this mys-aduenture ham ys tam a by-fall, specialy that whan thay foundyn Englysh-men childryn ^{mercatoribus, guam} to sill, that Marchandis and roberes wold bryng to the lond, praedonibus atque thay were woned to by ham, and pute ham in thraldome; And piratis

40 THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XVII, XVIII). [DUBL. MS.

A.D. 1170. wreth hyt was, that as syllers weren to-fore y-broght yn thraldome, also the byggers sholden after : ffor hyt was somtym that the The

English,

suffer, would sell their children.

The Irish resolve to free all English slaves.

Reports are spread in England of Fitz-Gerald's keeping Irish land.

Henry II forbids ships to go to and from Ireland; men home.

Fitz-Gerald sends to Henry II

and yields his Irish conquests to him.

Thomas a Beket is martyrd.

folke of englond-The maner of har kyngdome was al I-holewhan thay had now other thynge that pay myghten take to, rathar 4 rather than than thay wold any myssayse tholy, Thay wer I-wont to sylled har chyldren & har other kynnesmend, bothd ynto Irlond & ynto other londes. Ther-for hyt may well be soth, that as the byggers, also be syllers, oft served wel, throgh so loly gyltes to be y-broght yn 8 thraldome. Ther hyt was yn bat consaylle be-heght, & by assent of al comynly I-set, that al the englysshe-men yn be lond that yn thraldome weren, shold ben delyuered, & frely let goo whody iso they wold. [CHAPTER XVII.]

er-aftyr spronge tythyngges of the Erle & of be 12 englysshe-mend ynto englond; &, as maner ys, myche me made more; & that the Erl hade apropred to hym, nat only leynestre, bot other londes also, that, by no ryght ne by law, to hym ne to hys wyf longen. The kynge sent anoon, & forebeed that, 'out 16 no lond that were yn hys power, ne shold no shyppen passe yn-to Irland, ne no maner thynge for to brynge; & al men that yn-to Irland war comen, shold ayeyn come yn-to englande, wyth-yn be and orders next estre, or they sholden be dysheryted & ex[y]led out of lond 20 all English for euer.' The Erl saw that he & hys weren narow belad, both of hys men that hym wold leve, & eke that nothynge ne most hym come out of other landes, of bynge that hym nede was : by comune rede of hys men, he sent Reymond ouer to the kynge 24 that was fer yn gascoyne, & thus hym sent to say: "By thy leue, lord, yf y am welle vndyrstond, y went ynto Irland for to help in Gascony, thy trew man, Dermot Macmorgh; perfor, that al that of hys herytage, other of opers yn be lond, almyghty god me hath I-sent, 28 as hyt come of thy graunt & of thy good wylle, also, I wyll that hyt to the turne, to do ther-wyth what the lyketh."

[CHAPTER XVIII.]

peymond went to the kynge with such mandement; & the whyle that he folwed the kynges court, abydynge hys 32 answer, Thomas, the erchebysshoppe of Cantrebery¹, was martyred

¹ (In margin, in a later hand : The archebushop of canterbury called Tho. Beckett. 1171.)

that, throw godis his owyn wreth hit was, that as the sylleris A.D. 1170. weryn to-for broght in thraldome, also the byeris sholdyn be brogh[t] in thraldome aftyr / For hit was somtyme that the pepil of England the maner of har kyngdome was al y-holde: Whan thay had none othyr thynge that thay myght take to, Radyr than thay wolde suffyr any dyssese, thay wold syll har privaguam childyr and har othyr kynnes-men, both into Irland and into inopiam ullam aut othyr landis. Therfor hit may wel be trouth that, as the byeris, inediam also the Silleris, ofte Seruyd well, throgh So wicked doynge, to be sustinerent. broght in thraldome. There hit was in that consayll promysyd; and by assent of al comynly y-Set, that al the Englysh-men in the lond that in thraldome weryn, shold ben delyuerid, and frely lette goo whedyr So thay wolde.

[CHAPTER XVII.]

Ere-aftyr spronge tythyngis of the Erle and of the Capitulum Englysh-men into Englond; and as the maner is, of mych xvijm. thay mad more; and that the Erle had approperid to hym, not only magnis leynystere, but othyr londis also, that, by no ryght ne lawe, to hym semper ne to his wyfe partenyd"// The kynge sende anone, and comandid vulgante. that 'no shippe, out of no lond that Partenyth to hym, sholde Passe into Irland; Ne no maner thynge forto brynge; and al men that Into Irland war comyn, sholde ayeyñ goo into England wythin the nexte Estyr, Othyr they sholde be disherytid and exilid out of lond for euer.' The Erle saw that he and his wervn narrow bylad, in arcto both of his men that hym wold leue, and also that nothynge shold jam come out of othyr landis of thynge that he had ned to / he toke consayle of his men, and Sente Reymond ouer to the kynge, that was fere in gascoyñ, and thus hym Sende to say: "By youre lycence si bene lord, yf y be wel vndyrstond, y wente into Irland forto helpe yowr recordor, trew man, Dermot Macmurgh. Therfor, that al that of his $\begin{bmatrix} *Fol.8b. \end{bmatrix}$ heritage, othyr of otheres, that y haue in the Land, that almyghty eandem god to me * Hath sende, as hit come of youre graunt and of youre vestro good wyle, ¹ also y wille that Hit be turne to yow, to do ther-wyth nutuque redibit. whate Plese yow."

[CHAPTER XVIII.]

REymond went to the kynge with such mandement; and Capitulum the whyle that he folwid the kynges courte, abydynge his ^{xviij^m}. answere, Thomas, the archebisshope of Cantreberry, was martirid

Archbishop Beket sufferd seven years in exile. personally,

and also thro' his persecuted kinsfolk,

who sufferd for him.

his chief Martyrdom.

He was slain in Canterbury Cathedral by four knights, before the Altar.

The Apostle Thomas died on Dec. 21; Beket on Dec. 29.

A.D. 1170. yn englond, nat wyth-out mych blame to al be lond-folk, both lered & lewed. That erchebysshopp, after many-fold martyrdome that he polled, negh seven yer that he was banshed out of englond for the ryghtes of holy chyurche, In sore & many wepynges, yn 4 double heer about hys body-pat on, yn styd of shyrth; that oper, yn stydde of breche-nyght & day yn holy prayer & redynge yn holy wrytte; & o thynge that meste sorow broght to hys hert, that al hys kyn, men & wommen, yonge & old, wommen 8 lyggyne yn chyld-bed, & old men that fore eld yroked weren yn her cradelys, & all other, clerkes & lewed, that me myght wytt that sybrede or other frendshypp hadden to hym, al thay weren I-dryue out of englond; & al they that weren of eld that pay 12 myghty othes swerr, swaren vpon the masse-boke that, as sone as thay come ouer the see, thay shold go to be erchebysshoppe, [*Fol.9a,] & shew hym the * wrechednesse that bay suffred for hys sake; ffor he shold, for reuth of ham, turnen hys hert, & graunt be 16 kynges wylle of bynge that he desyred. After such martyrdomes, and many other bat he tholled yn hys lyue, whyche no manly Then came hert may bethynke to ful end, the hey martyrdome, that broght hys soule to be blysse of heuyn, & hys body to wyrshyppe yn hert, 20 other many bynges be-tydden that men Aght well vnderstond; bat ayeyns hys fomen yede, opyn heed, & opened be chyrch durr whyche the monkes hadden I-loke, & seyd pat 'men ne shold no castell make of holy chyrche'; & hys holy croune bade ayeyn 24 the naked swerdes for to smyte, & that yn the modyr chyrche, heghest of al be lond, & to-for the weued, that he of four knyghtes, woder than wood houndes, tholled four woundes yn the holy croun, & [n]on without,-so as be croun oght betokne of proteccion to 28 clergy,-that he deth tholled yn the north syde of be chyrche, whyche betokneth Ihesu crystes passyon. & thus goddys owne knyghte, wythouten any ferdnesse, tholled deth; yn hys lyf of thys world, chaunged wel selyly for 'pe lyf that euer shal lest without 32 end. And as seynt Tomas-ys day, Apostle, ys be fyft day afor yold, so ys thys Thomas day be fyft day after. That Thomas was candel I-set yn be este of be world; Thys Thomas yn be west. [That] was lyght to aly chyrche yn hyr yough, as [Thys] yn hyr eld : 36

in England, not wyth-out grete reprefe to al the land-pepill, both A.D. 1170. lerid and lewid. That archebisshope, aftyr manyfolde martyrdome that he Sufferid, / ney vije. yere that he was banneschid out of septennalis Englond for the ryght of holy church, In sore and many wepyngis, fire exilii. In doubill here about his body,-that on in styd of shyrt, that tam femoothyr in styd of breche,-Nyght and day, in holy prayeris and rali quam corporali. redynge in holy writte. And o thyng that meste Sorrow wroght nec aetati parcente, to his hert, that al his kynnes-men, yonge and old, women lyggynge nec sexui in chyldbed, and olde men that for elde yrokyd weryn in her tam miscra-bili sancradelis, and al othyr, clerkys othyr lewid, that thay mygh[t] know, guinis universi that weryn of his kyn, Othyr frendshipe haddyn to hym, al thay proserioweryn dryw out of Englond. And al thay that weryn of elde, tione. that thay myght othys swere, Swaryn on the masboke, that 'as Sone as thay come ouer the See, thay shold go to the archebyschope, and Shew hym the mesury that thay Sufferid for his Sake;' For he shold, for Pite of ham, turnen his hert, and graunt the Kynge his wyll of that, that he desyrid. Aftyr Such martirdomes, and many othyr that he sufferid in his lyfe,-the whych in no mannes hert may be thoght to ful end,-The hey martirdome, that broght his Soule to the blysse of hewyñ, and his body to vyrchip in Erth, Othyr many thyngis be-fel that men aght wel vndyrstond; that quod ipse ayenes His enemys yede, opyn hede, and oppenyd the church-durre, $\bar{f}_{uribundis}$ whych the Monkes haddyn y-loke, and sayd that 'men shold not no templi fores castel make of holy church.' And his holy crovne bare ayeyn the aperuit, et nakyd Swerdes forto smyte, and that in the modyr chyrch, heghist aperto vertice of al the lond, and to-for the auter / that he of foure knyghtes, gladiis occurrens. wodyr than wode houndis, tholled Foure woundes in the holy croun, and [n]on wyth-out,-So as the crovid oght to be know tokyn of et nullum protexcion to clergy,-that he deth Sufferid in the north syde of the extra. church, whych be-tokenyth Ihesu crystes Passion. and thus godis owyn knyght, wyth-out eny ferd, sufferyd deth; and his lyfe of this world, chaunged for the lyfe that ever shal leste wythout end. And as seynte thomas-is day the apostyl, is the V. day afor yolde, ¹ ille So is this Thomas-is day, the V. day aftyr. That thomas was candil accelesiae y-sette in the Este of the World; This thomas in the weste. 1 [That] lumen dedit, hic was lyght to holy churche in hyr youth, as [This] in hyr elde; and senescenti.

A.D. 1170-1. As the Apostle gave his blood for the early Church, so his for the aged one.

saints, for

[1] that tofore]

Beket all kinds of miracles performd. He got a man fresh eyes and genitals. Merlin's prophecy of Beket.

is, 53-4], on Dec. 29, 1170. [T. MSS. **Ľ. Т.** На. Cl. n. Op. v. 262 n. 4.] Macmorga deyed, ye begy hery ye fight amonge hys folke; of lange Macmurgh A man grett of body; hardy yn fyght amonge hys folke; of lange May, 1171. & lome cryvnge yn fyght, hys voys was somdel hors; leuer hym 36

& as he [the Apostle] commenced holy chyrche with hys blode whan che was arerynge, Also thys, [Beket,] whan she had longe I-stond & wox yn eld, & redy was to falle, wyth hys blode he ryght hyr vp, & sette hyr yn ryght stydde. And as he t[oke hym] selue to 4 quellers for to arer be seknes of holy chyrche, also thys ne douten Beket gave nat to taken hym-self to kene swerdes, & lydder men hondes, for be fredome of holy chyrche to sawe vnwemmed. The fourme of hys martyrdome, twey verses a latyn shortly comprehendeth, that 8 thus mych ben to vnderstond : "ffor crystes spouse, vnder crystes Among all tyme, yn crystes chyrche, crystes owne leman deyed." Amonge al the halwen that almyghty god wroght yn erth, of selcouth myraclys for to showen har holynesse,—as the blynd to see, the 12 lame to gon, be dombe to speke, the deue to hyr, lasers to clense, paralys to festnen, y-dropesie & al other manere yueles to helen, the dede to areren, yuel gostes to quether, & al be four elementes to har commaundement hadden,-he alon was y-wyrshypped with 16 al these, & more per-to, thar-to-for 1 was nat herd ne sey; ffor a man that hade hys eghen I-draw out of hys heed, & hys manly alone were menbres y-kytte of & y-cast awey, come to hys tombe; & progh besechyng of hym, god hym sent newe. Of thys holy martyr, 20 Merlyn seyd thus yn hys prophecye: "A newe martyr shal aryse with newe myracles, that yn the worldes endyng, yn the west of be world, by specyal vertue, mannys lymmes out I-draw & out I-corue, ayeyn shald make come. Sorow shal turne ynto yoye, 24 whan te sonnes shal sle be fadyr yn hys modyr wombe; prynces [*Fol.9b.] & hey men * shal come out of pe este yn-to the weste, & lout ham to be newe martyres fot-stappes." Al bys was openly I-seyd of be holy martyr seynt Thomas; he was be whet corne bat fel yn 28 at 48 [that erth, & mych fruyt forth broght. In be yer of burth-tyme .xlviij.; of hys sacryfiynge .viij.; of hys exil .vij.; yn the end of Decembre, yn be yere of our lordes yncarnacion .M.C.lxxj.; & was poppe

of Rome, Alexandre the thyrd ; Emperour of Almayne, ffrytheryke ; 32

kynge of ffraunce, lowys. Whan the wentyr was I-passed, Dermot

Macmorgh deyed, be begynenyng of may, & was bured at ffernes.

44

as he commencid holy church with his blod whan she was arerynge, A.D. 1170-1. Also this, whan she had long stond, and wox in elde, and redy was to fall, wyth his blode he put hyr in good state, and therin confermyd hyr. And as he toke hym-selfe to them that hym berewid the lyfe, forto arere the sekenys of holy church, Also this doutyd not to take hym-Selfe to s[h]arpe Swerdes, & wickyd men [*Fol.9a] hondes, * For the fredome of Holy church to Saue Vn-Wemmede. ut eiusdem The fourme of His Holy martirdome, two Versis of Lateyñ Sortely conservaret comprehendyth, that thus mych ben to vndyrstond: "For crystis illaesam. Spouse, vndyr crystis tyme, in crystis churche, crystes owyn leman verus died." / Amonge al the holy Seyntes that almyghty god wroght for amator obit. in erth of voundyrfull miracles, for to Show har holynes,-as the blynd to se, the lame to goñe, the dombe to Speke, the deue to quod sepahyre, leperes to clense, Paralyse to festnen, ydropesye and al othyr membris et maner sekenes to hele, the dede to arrere, the vickid Spyrytys to projectis, **i**naudito ouercome, And al the iiije. elementes to har comaundement haddyn more re--he alon was y-wyrchippid with al thes. For a man, that his posuit. eghen was hym berewid, and his manly membris y-kute of and cast away, come to his tombe; and throw besechynge of hym, god hym sende newe // Of this holy martyr, Merlynge sayd thus in his Nota de prophesy: "A new martyr shall ryse, with new Miracles, that in Sancto Thoma. the worldis endynge, in the weste of the world, by Special vertu, manes lymes out y-draw and out y-corue, a-yeyn shal make come. Sorrow shal make come Into Ioy, whan the Sonnes shal sle the cum matrix in utero Fadyr in his modyr wombe. Princes and hey men shal come out patrem of the Este into the weste, and lout hame to the new martyr-is fote- filii trucidabunt. stappis." Al this was opynly Sayd of the holy martyr Seynte thomas. He was the whet-corne that fel in Erth, and mych frute forth broght. In the yere of his berth-tyme, xlviij.; of his Sacryfyynge, viij.; of his exil, vije.; in the Ende of Decembre, in the yere of oure lord-is Incarnacion, Mt. Clxxj; and was Pope of Rome, Alexandre the iije.; Emperoure of almane, Fryderik; Kynge of Fraunce, Lowys // Whan the wyntyr was ypassyd, Dermot Mac- Descripcio Murcardi. murgh dyed in the begynnynge of May, and was buried at Fernys. (Op. v. A man grete of body; hardy in fyght amonge his Pepill; of lange and 237-8.) ofte cryinge in fyght, his voyce was Somdel hors; Leuer hym was

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XIX). DUBL. MS.

A.D. 1171. was that man hym dredet than loued; be noble & be ryche he Macwold brynge to noght; the mek 1 & the pouer he wold rere; al men murgh's ayeyns hym, & he ayeyns al. character.

[CHAPTER XIX.]

Hasculf,

with Norsemen in forty ships, led by John the Mad. lands

to attack Dublin. Miles of Cogan and meet him,

rout the Norse, and to their ships. John the Mad is slain.

Hasculf threatens his conquerors,

Aftyr that, about whyt-sontyde, hastoyl, that was some 4 tyme maystre of deuylyn,-as man that fayn was about for to awreke hys old tene,-come wyt men of northwey & of be north ylondes, with ful grett folk, yn furty grett shyppes, & arryued yn be hauen of amlyffy, with har lodes-man, that hete Iohn the 8 Wood. Thay wenten out of har shyppes, men well I-wepned, sum with longe swerdes, some with Iren pletes & round sheldes well I-bound about with Iren, swerdes & speres & axys ynowe, & marches & comen well ordeynly for to assaylle the toun on the eest half. 12 Miles de Cogan, keper of be Cyte, kyndly stalwardly, & hardy, wyth wel chosen folke, went out ayeyns ham, and yaf ham fyght; the English bot strong hyt was, to hold fyght ayayn so many with so fewe: than had he I-lost some of hys men; & O knyghtes theygh was 16 I-cut with be kappe of hys haubergeon wytht a dynt of a dennysh nede he most turne yn ayeyne at be yate, tyll that Rychard ax. de Cogan, Myles brother, wythe few men, that whylle stylly went out at the south yate, & sharply becryed ham behynd, & smote 20 vpon ham. through that, bat he come so fersly vpon ham, thay wer so afrygh, that thay wyst nat on whych syde thay shold kepe the fyght: yn a lytell whyl thay war dyssconfyte, & toke ham to flyght drive them toward har shyppes. these other come ham betwene, & slowe ful 24 many: ther was John the Wood I-slayn, & ful mych folk wyth hym, throght Walter de Redlesford, that ful stalwarth was yn the fyght. Hascoyl was I-take fro the shyppe ther he was to I-flow, & I-broght alvues yn-to the Cyte, & hys lyf I-graunted for 28 raunceon; bot as he stode yn court to-for Myles, he put forth lyddyrly a prout word & seyd, "wyt lytell power we comen now, & thys nas bot assaye of our myght; bo[t] yf I lyue, ar hyt be lange to, shal come other so mych as pese." Whan thys was I-hard-for 32 ynd the mannys tonge hys oft lyf & deth, & me seyth eke, 'Tong breketh bon, thegh hym-self ne hawe none'-Myles bad that

¹ MS. mok. Lat. 'humilium erector.'

tha[t] a man hym dreddyd than lowyd; the nobil and the ryche A.D. 1171. he wold brynge to noght; the meke and the Pouer he wold awaunce; al men ayeynes hym, and he ayeynes al men //

[CHAPTER XIX.]

Aftyr that, about whitsontyd, Hastoyl, that was Somtyme Capitulum Maystyr of Deuelyn,—as man that fayne was about forto be xix^m. awengid of his old wreth,-come wyth men of North-Wey and of the North ylondys, wyth many pepil, in fourty grete shippys, and sexaginta londyd in the hauyn of Amlyffy, with har captayne that was callid navibus. Ihon the Woode¹. Thay wentyn out of har shippis, men wel rel Vehewepenyd, Some with longe Swerdys, Some with Iryn Platys and alii roune sheldys, wel bound aboute with Iryñ, Swerdys and Speres laminis and axes ynow, and comyn wel ordeynly forto assayle the toun on *ferreis arte* consuits. the Eeste halue. * Myles de cogan, Kepere of the Citey, Kynly [*Fol.9b.] Bolde and Hardy, Wyth Welle schosyn pepill, went out ayeynnes innatae animositaham and yafe ham fyght; but stronge hit was to holde fyght ayeyn tis auso many with so few; than had he lost Some of his men; and o dacia. knyghtes thegh was kut with the lappe of his haubergeon, with cum panno loricae a stroke of a dennysh axe. nedes he moste turne aye at the yate, praecisa. tyl that Richard de cogan, Miles-Is brodyr, with few men, that whyle went out at the south yate, and sharpely becryed ham ipsos a behynde, and Smote vpon ham. through that, that he come so Fresly $\frac{tergo}{acriter}$ vpon ham, thay were so aferde, that thay wyst not on what Syde exclamando, thay sholde kepe the fyght / In a lytyll whyle thay wer dyscom- percussit. fyte, and toke ham to flyght toward har shippis. thes oper come ham be-twen, and kyllid ful many. ther was Ihoñ de woode Johanne y-slayn, And ful mych pepil with hym, throw Water de Redeles- quoque Vehementi. ford, that ful bolde was in that fyght. Hastoil was take fro the shipe ther he was to flede, and brogh[t] alyues into the Cite, and his lyfe gravntid for Raunceoun; but as he stode in courte to-for Miles, he sayd lewidly a prowte worde : "Wyth lytil pepil we come now, And this was not but assay of oure myght; but yf y lyue, ar hit be lange to, shal come othir so mych as thes." Whan this Inmanibus was herde,-For in the manes tonge is ofte lyfe and deth; And as linguage, hit is Sayd, Tonge brekyth bone, thegh hym-Selfe ne haue non, -- more et vita. Prov. Miles commandid that he shold anone out be-ladde, and to Smyte xviii. 21.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XX). [DUBL. MS.

A.D. 1171. men shold hym anoon out lede, & smyte of be heed. & thus, for and is hys hauteyn & prout spech, he lost be lyf that thar-by-for mekely beheaded. hym was graunted.

[CHAPTER XX.]

As Henry II's edict leaves Struguil bare of men and food,

the Irish muster a big army, Dublin.

Gothred, King of Man, and others,

Dublin

months'

[Fol.10a.] One after thys, many of thay that weren y-come 4 yn-to Irland wyth the Erl, & eke to-fore,---for the kynges byddynge that come to ham, as hyt ys to[1]d a-foor,-leften the Erl, & wenten yn-to england. The peple of yrland saw the erl narow beladde, both of hys men That hym left, & of vytalle that 8 trukked, wher-of he hade grete plente ther-by-fore out of eng-Thay gaddered ham to-gedders myche folk, al be prynce land. of the lond, with al har poer, & besegeden deuelyn on euery and besiege halue; & that was through procurying of laurence, Erchebysshoppe 12 of dyuelyn, as men seyd, for loue of hys folk. he sent also hys lettres, with Oconghours lettres, kynge of Connaght, to Gothred, kyng of Manne, & to other prynces of be north ylondes, for to be-sete the hauyo of dyuelyo; & large yiftes & presentes ham 16 yaue, & myche more hem behete, for to helpe ham. &, for thay drede ham of al such manere of aventures, Through that, that the englysshe-men hadden so wel I-conquered vpon be yrysshe, Thay with thirty comen the rather ham to help; & yn lytell whyle came .xxx^{ti}. 20 ships, beset shyppys ful of stalwarth men wel arayed to fyght, & besetten the hauend of amlyffy. Whan the Erl & hys men werend well twey Harbour. monthes beley in yn the syte of dyuelyn, & to ham come non helpe, After two nether of be lond ne on watyr, & vytaylle fast ham slaked; & (as hyt 24 siege, and vs oft I-found, selde be-falleth oom harme that more [ne come]) come when food is scarce.

news comes that Robert Stevenson is besieged in Carrick Fort.

Maurice and Rei-Gerald are in Dublin.

Donald, Macmorghes sone, of okenseley, to The Erl, & told hym for that Robert steuenes-son was beseget yn hys castell that he had rered at be carryke, of be Cytezeyns of weysford & the men of ken- 28 sely, well bre thousand men; & few men had wyth hym; [&, but hym] come socours by the pryd day, that of hym, ne thay that with hym werend, neuer no more to thynke. In the syte of dyuelyn, wer that tyme be-left with the erl, Moryche fytz-Geraud & Reymond, 32 mund Fitz- that from the kynge was comen newly; sory for ham-self & for hars: & thegh bey weren yn grett angwysshe for ham-seleue, thay

waren yn wel more for har good brother & for hys, that amonge

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of his hede. And this had he for his proude Spech loste the lyfe A.D. 1171. that thar-by-for mekely hym was graundid.

[CHAPTER XX.]

C one aftyr this, many of them that weryn come into Irland Capitulum with the Erle, and also tofor, - by the kynges comandement xx^m. that come to ham as hit is to-for told,-leften the Erle, and wentyn into england. The pepil of Irland Saue the Erle narrow by-lad, videntes both of his men that hym lefte, and of vytayle that trukked, *Hibernici* comitem wher-of he had grette plente ther-before out of Englond. Thav. et suos, tam suogaderid ham to-gederis mych pepill, al the princes of the londe rum jacand tura, quam victualium with al har Power, and be-segedyn Deuelyn on euery syd. that was by procvrynge of laurance, Archebishope of Deuelyn, as defectu ... men sayd, for loue of his Pepil / Also he sende his lettres, with entes. o-conghoure-is lettres, kynge of connaght, to Gothrede, kynge of Man, and to other Princes of the northe vlondes, for to be-Sette the hauyn of Deuelyn; and large yeftys and presentis ham yaue, and mych mor ham promysid, forto helpe ham. and, for thay dred ham of al Suche aventures, Throgh that, that the Englysh-men haddyn So wel conqueryd vpon the Irysh, Thay comyn the radyr ham to helpe. and in lytyll whyle came xxx^{ti}. shippis, ful of bold men wel arrayid to fyght, and be-setten the hauvn of amlyffy. whan the Erle and his men weryn wel two monthys besegid in the Cite of Deuelyn, and to ham come no Soccovr on lond ne on watyr, [* Fol. 10 a.] * And Vytayle ham falid, (and as Hit ys oft founde, Selde befallyth sed cumuone Harme that more ne comyth aftyr, and euer gaderyth to helpe lante semper inmore and more,) Come Donald, Macmurghes sone of Okensely, to the commoda Erle, and tolde hym, for that Robert Steuenes-Sone was besegid in fortuna sinistra. his castel that he had rerid at the Karrike, of the Citteseynes of weysford, and the men of Okenseley, wel iije. Mt. men; And few quasi tribus men had with hym; and, but hym come Socoure by the thyrd day, virorum that of hym, ne thay that with hym weryn, neuer no more to milibus thynke. In the Cite of Deuelyn, wer that tyme lefte with the Erle, Morice fiz Geraud, and Reymond, that from the kynge was come newely, Sory for ham-Selfe and for haris. and thegh they wer in tam suorum quam grete angwysche for ham-Selfe, they weryn in wel more for har sui non good brodyr, and for his, that amonge his enemys was besegyd, in mediocriter anxietate

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turbati.

E

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A.D. 1171. hys fomen was beseyget, yn place febly I-garnset, but a dych & a hegge of thornes vpon, & lytell ost ston-wal. Moryce arose vp Maurice Fitzto-fore the erl & the knyghtes, & seyde: "Nat to delytes, ne Gerald harangs ydelnes set to drawen, come we nat yn-to thys lande; both 1 for to 4 his men : sechen aduentures, & prouen our streynth vpon peryl of our "We were heedes. We have I-stond awhyle & heghest, & now we bene the y-turned to the lowest, for so goth be sykenesse of thys world; highest: euery gladnesse ys endet wyth sorowe, & euery selth hath wnselth 8 we are now the at be end. After be bryght day, cometh the durke² nyght; & lowest. after, the durknesse of * be night vs awey I-dryuen with be light [* Fol. 10 b.] of be sone. Ar thys, the ouer-hand was yn all styddes our, & plente of alle good; nowe beth so beloken, that non help vs ne 12 may come, noper by lond ne by watyr. On oper halue, Robert "No help can come steuenes-sone, whos herdy herth opened vs be wey yn-to bys land, to us. ys beseged fer wyt hys fomen yn folk place. What ybyde we ? have we any hope that our lond-folk vs come to helpe ? thar-to ne 16 tryst we nat; for we beth now yn such law I-sette, bat as be Iresshe wer, ar thys, to the englyshe, also be englysshe beth now to be Iresshe. thar-for gow owt stalwartly, assayllen our fomen ! " Let us fight ! thegh we few be, we ben men of herth, & wel I-wepned! ne shal 20 Tho' few. we've neuer naked rascayll, thegh bey many be, haue myght ne power vs heart, and to wyt-stond." Whan moryce hadde thys I-seyd, Reymond, pat can beat our naked was I-smyte wyth the same sorow of herth, seyd to ham be same foes." wordes, & mych mor, 'that thay wollden allerformest smyth vpon 24 be kyng of konnaght, & hym that was heed, & formest & heghest of ham alle.' Al that ther weren, helden herto, & ren astryf to The English wepne ham, & leppen to hors, & deled ham a thre, thegh thay sally out, in three fewe weren. In be formest, was Reymond with twonty knyghtes; 28 small In be other, myles wyth .xxx^{ti}.; In be bryd, the Erl & morice, with divisions against fourty knyghtes & Squyerys; & men an-hors & a-foot, to euery of 30,000 these I-sete, as hyt wold by-falle: thay went ham out of be syte Irish. stylly, about noon-dayes, & with so few men assayllyden an 32 hostes of .xxx^{ti}. thousand. Reymond, amonge the fyrst, smote vpon Reimund Fitzham; & feyr to-for al other: he smote tweyne through-out wyth a Gerald fights best. speer. Reymond & Moryce twey sonnes, Geraud & Alexander,

¹ but.

² MS. druke,

place febilly garnesyd, but a dyche and a hegge of thornys vpon, A.D. 1171. and a lytil stone wal. Moryce aros vp to-for the Erle and the knyghtes, and sayd': "Not to delytes, ne ydylnes, come we nat into Non ad this land; but forto sechyn adventures, and proven oure Streynth delicias, viri, non vpon peril of oure hedys. we have stond awhyle, and hygh; and ad otia now we ben turnyd to the louyst; for So is the schavnge of this vocati. world. the end of every gladnes is Sorrow. And every Surnesse hath vnsurnes at the ende. Aftyr the bryght day, comyth the nyght; and aftyr, the durkenes of the nyght is a-way dryven with the lyght of the Sone. Afor this, the ouerhand was in al places our, and plente of al goode. Now ben we So belokken, that none Auxilium helpe vs ne may come, nothyr by lond ne by watyr. On the mobis, nec othyr Syde, Robert Steuenes-Sone, whos bolde hert openyd vs the mittit, nec classis way into this lond, is besegid fer with his fomen in febyll place. inimica Whate abyde we ? have we any hoppe that oure lond-pepil wil vs permittit. come to helpe ? tharto ne trust we not / for we byth now in Such lawe y-Sette, that 1 as the Iryssh wer, or this, to the Englysh, Also ut sicut the Englysh byth now to the Iryssh. Wherfor go we out boldely Hibernicis Angli, sic assaylyn oure enemys! thegh we fewe be, we ben men of herte and et Anglis wel wepenyd! ne shaft neuer nakyd raskayl, thegh they many be, simus. haue myght ne powere vs to wythstond." Whan Morice had this sayd, Reymonde, that was Smyte wyth the Same Sorrow of herte, sayde to ham the same wordis, and mych mor, 'that thay woldyn alther-formyst Smyte vpon the kynge of connaght / and he that was hede and formyst of ham al.' Al that ther weryn, heldyn herto, and went to wepyn ham, and leppyn to hors, and delyd ham on thre, thegh thay few were. In the formyst, was Reymond, with twonty knyghtes; In the othyr, Milis, with xxx^{ti}. In the thyrd, the Erle and Morice wy[th] fowrty knyghtes, and Morice with fourty knyghtis and Squyeris; and men an-hors an[d] a-fote, to every of thys y-sette, as hit wolde befall. thay went ham out of the Cite hora quasi Softely, about noon dayes, and wyth So few men assayledyn an post nonam. hoste * of xxx^{ti} M[†]. Reymonde, amonge the fyght, fryst Smote vpon [* Fol. 10 ham, and ferre to-for al othyr. he Smote two throgh-out with b.] a Spere. Reymond and Morices two Sonnes, Geraud and alex-

¹ In the margin, 'as we byth ynglys on to the yryssh, so we byth yryssh on to the ynglys.'

The little English host rout Irish,

to Dublin spoil. They march (too late) to aid Fitz-Stephen.

A.D. 1171. thegh thay wer fyrst y-sete yn be latest of be host, through kynd stalwardnesse hertly smytten out to the formest, & many dydden to deth. Alle be other fresshely foloweden after; & yn lytell the 30,000 whylle dysconfited al be hoste, & slowen so many, that no tonge 4 ne myght tell. Oconnoghour, þat that tym satte yn bathe, vnnethe escaped: thay folwed the dyscomfytur on euery halue and return tyll be nyght ham leth. Than thay turned ayeyne, & name har with great pelfre, gold & syluyr, clothes & wepne & hors, & wenten wyth 8 mychel gladnesse yn-to pe syte. Amorow pay lefte good kypynge yn the syte, & turneden toward weysford by Odroon, wyth baners y-lacet, for to socour Robert steuenes-sone.

[CHAPTER XXI.]

[Fol.11a.] The mene time, the folke of Weysford, wythe be power 12

Fitz-Stephen's scanty garrison defend bravely.

The Irish deceive them;

swear Dublin is taken, and its Chiefs slain.

They offer the garrison a safe transport to Wales. Their false words are believd, and the garrison are slain or imprisond.

of Okensely, wel thre bousand men, ayeyn har othes I-swer & har trowth, Robert steuenesson al vnwardly, with fyue knyghtes & a few bow-men I-found withyn hys feble castel, thay stynt nat to themselves assaylle. thay defendet ham full stalwarthly, thegh they fewe wer; 16 & namely a knyght that hete Wyllyam Not, aftyr Robert, ouer al other best dydde. Whan thay myght nat wyth streynth spede, thay bethoght ham that wyth falshed & wyth treyson they wold come wyth-yn ham. Thay sent to be dyche twey bysshoppes, 20 that on of Weysford, that other of kyldar, & other mo wyth ham yn habyt of relygyon; thay broght with ham massebokes, & Corpus domini, & relykes many, & sworne vp-on ham al, & vpon har owne soules, that 'dyuelyn was Itak; & be Erl & morice & 24 Remond, & the englisshe-men, euerychon I-slawe; the host of levnestre & of Connaght comyng to ham-ward; & for good of hym, thay wer to hym y-come; that he shold yeld vp his castel, & me shold saue hym lyf & lym, & al his & al har good; for he 28 was ham so fre & so meke lord, me shold trewly brynge hym & his ouer in-to Wales ar the grete hoste of his fomen to hym comen, that nothyng nold spar hym.' Robert leued har speche & har fals othes; he came out & yeldet hym & his, to ham & to har 32 Thay wer no raper out I-comen, that me ne name ham trowth. euerychone; & some thay slowen yn be place; some bay vndide & betten lidderly & bonden; & wyth ham selfe I-bounden, kesten

RAWL. MS. ROBERT FITZ-STEPHEN IS DECEIVD AND TAKEN.

andyr, thegh they were fryst Sette in the laste of the hoste, throgh A.D. 1171. kynly bolul ¹ hertely Smyten out to the formyst, and many dyddyn innatae to deth. Al the othyr freschely folwedyn aftyr; And in lytyll strenuitatis Space of tyme dyscomfyted al the hoste, and slowyn so many, that indicio ... no tonge myght tell. Oconghoure, that that tyme Satte in bathe, [¹for bolnys, vnneth Escapid: thay folwid the dyscomfiture on euery halue tyll 59/14.] the nyght ham lette. Than thay turned ayeyñe, and toke har victualibus et vecturis, spolifie, gold and Syluyr, clothis, and wepyn and hors, and wentyn spolifies with myche gladnes into the Cite. A-morrow thay lefte good quoque et armis kepynge in the cite, and turned toward Weysford by Odrooñ, wyth onerati. baneres ylacyd, forto Socoure Robert Steuenes-Sonne.

[CHAPTER XXI.]

The men-tyme, the pepil of weysford, with the Power of Capitulum okenseley, wel iiie. Mt men every her othic Surgery and her xxjm. okenseley, wel iije. M[‡]. men, ayeyn har othis Sworne and har xxj^m. trouth, Robert Steuenes-Sonne al vn-wittynge, with v. knyghtes Stephaniand a few bowmen, fownde within his febil castel, thay stynte not dem improvisum. to assayle. thay defendyd ham ful boldely, thegh they fewe were; and Specialy a knyght that was callid William Not, aftyr Robert, ouer al othyr best dyd. Whan thay myght not with streynth Spede, thay bethoght ham that with falshede and with treysone ad conthay wolde come within ham. Thay Sende to the dyche two sueta fallaciae bysshopis, that one of weysford, that othyr of kyldare, and othyr tela figmentaque mo with ham in habit of religion. thay broght with ham masbokes dolosa conand Corpus domini, and relykis many, and Sword vp-on ham al, currant. and vpon har owyn Soulys, that 'Deuelyn was take; and the Erle, and Morice and Reymond, and the Englysh-men, euerychone were Slayn; and the hoste of leynystre and of connaght comynge to hamward ; and for good of hym, thay were to hym come ; that he sholde Stephaniyelde vp his castel, and thay wold Sawe his lyfe, and al his, and al dae ipsius har good; for he was to ham so fre and So meke lorde, they wold causa. trewely brynge hym and his ouer into walis, or the grete oste of his enemys to hym were come, that nothynge wolde hym Spare.' Robert belewid har Spech and har fals othys. He came out, and 2 alii ver-Thay were no beribus, alii vero yeldyd hym and his, to ham and to har trouth. radyr out-come, than thay toke ham euerychone ; and Some thay vulneribus graviter Slowyn in the Place; Some thay vndide and bettyn vickydly²; and afflicti,

The Irish traitors ford, and go to the Island of Begeri, Stephen. In the pass Striguil defeats a Leinster force.

The Wexford men threaten to kill Fitz-Stephen &c. The English hear of the Carrick garrison, and weep for it.

b.]

Robert Fitz-Stephen

Richard. Earl of Striguil described.

A.D. 1171. willych In preson. Nat long ther-after, come soth tythyngges of the dysconfytur of dyuelyn, & the Erles comyng toward ham. burn Wex- the thraytours, whan thay hyt wysten, thay setten har own toun of weysford afyr, & barnen hyte; & wenten ham-self, with wyf & 4 chyld, & al har oper good & har presons, ynto be Iland of beggerwith Fitz- yng, bat hys I-sete yn the entre of the hauen of Weysford. De host of leynester come ayeyns hym yn Odrone, & yaf hym fyght of Odroon, yn a paas of o thykke wood, strange yn hym selue, & comerous. 8 Ther wer many of the Irysshe y-slaw yn that fyght; & be Erl & al hys camen hole & sound yn-to be pleyne, sawe o man that he per forlese; & meyler, our al other, as hys wone was, stalwardly hym thar byladde. C After that, as thay comyn toward Weys- 12 ford, comen men ayeyns ham, & tolden ham the aduentur of Robert, & of the tounes bernyng, & seyden ham sykerly, that 'yf pay to ham wold vend anoon, pay wold sle har presons, & send ham the heeddes.' Whan thus was y-hard among the oste, who-so 16 loss of the had I-hard be wepynge, & the wenynge, & the sorow that thay mad, he myght wel sygge that 'neuer-more sych reuth was amonge men I-sey.' he was man that noon other was hys eunynge In all goodnesse¹, & ensampell to all knyghtes that any stalwarthnesse 20 [* Fol. 11 wold begynnyge; * ffor yn Wales & eke yn Irland many aduentures both god & yuel had I-fond, that ofter weren hys aduentures hard, thegh thay som tyme welcomend wyth hym. He was man mych of body, ² fayr vysage, soft & rody, nat ful becumliche; grete 24 described. meet-yeuer, large & fre throgh al thynge, & of grett solace yn Iappynge & pleynge; bot to mych, & vnmesurable, he yaf hymself lecherye². The Erl was man of suche manere; ³he was samroed, with grey eghen, wommanes vysage, & sproty, smal spech, 28 short nek³; on al other manere he was of fayr body, & alonge fre & meke; ham that he hade nat to yeue to, he guemed ham with fay? spech: out of wepne, he was as redy to otheres byddynge

¹ O virum, virtutis unicum, verique laboris exemplum.-Op. v. 271.

²⁻² vultuque decenti; et statura paulo mediocritatem excedente: vir dapsilis et largus, liberalis et jocundus, sed vino Venerique trans modestiam datus .--- Op. v. 271-2.

3-3 Vir subrufus, lentiginosus, oculis glaucis, facie feminea, voce exili, colls contracto.-Gir. Camb. Op. v. 272. Rolls Series.

boundy[n]; and with hym-Selfe y-bound, kesten vnmercyably in A.D. 1171. pryson¹. Not lange ther-aftyr, come trew thythynges of the dyscomfyture of Deuelyn, and the Erlis comynge toward ham. the traytoures, whan thay hit Vndyrstode, thay Setten har owyn toune of weysford afyre, and brentyn hit / And wenten hame-Selfe, with wyfe and chylde, and al hare othyr good and har prisoneres, into the ad insulam Iland of begeryn, that is at the Entrest of the hawyn of weysford: quae et the Hoste of Leynystre come ayeynys hame in odroon, and yafe sancta vocatur. ham fyght in a paace of thyke wodde, strange in hym-* Selfe, and [* Fol. 11 a.] comeros². Ther wer many of the Iryssh Slayn in that fyght; and the Erle and al his came hole and Sounde into the Playn, Saue o man that he there forlese. And Meylere, ouer al othyr, as he was woned, boldely hym there bore / Aftyr that, as thay comen + ex parte toward weysford, came men toward hame, and toldyn ham the guoque proditorum aduenture of Robert and of the tounes brennynge, and + Sayd ham firmiter asserentes, Surly, that 'yf thay wolde to ham wende anoone, thay wolde sle har guod si prisoneres, and Send ham the hedys.' Whan this was herde amonge ad illos accedere be hoste, who-so hadd herd the wepynge, and the lementacion and forte praesumant. the Sorrow that thay made, he myght wel say that 'Such Sorrow praecisa was neuer amonge men Sey' // He was man, that none othyr was sibi suorum capita his eunynge in al goodnesse, and Ensampil of al knyghtys that any statim boldnys wolde begynne. for in Walis, and also in Irland, many cuncta aduentures both good and euyl had founde, that ofter weryn his Descripcio he Roberti fiz Steuen. aduentures hard, thegh thay Sometyme wel comyn with hym. was man myche of body, fayr vysage, Softe and rody, not ful be- A big man, comlych; good mette-yeuer, large and fre through al thynge, and of liberal, but lecherous. grete Solace in Iaypynge; but to mych, and vnmesurably, he yafe hvm-Selfe to Lechery //

The Erle was man of Such manere : he was wyth-out doute of Descripcio grey eighen, womanes visage, and Sproty, smale Speche, Short Ricardi Comitis. neke : on al othyr maner, he was a fayre body, and alonge fre and meke. thay that he hadd not to yew, he plesyd with fayre Spech³. Out of wepyn, he was as redy to otheres byddynge, as thay to hym.

 2 quamquam in sui natura arcto nimis et invio, concidibus tamen plurimum arte munito.—Op.v. 272.

^s Quod re non poterat, verborum suavitate componebat.--Ibid.

¹ in carceres, et vincula contruduntur.-Op. v. 271.

Description of Richard, Earl of Striguil.

The Earl

A.D. 1171.

as other to hys: alle thynge he dydde by rede of hys men, & nothynge wyth-out. Out of bataylle, he had more of knyght than of host-leder; yn bataylle, more leder than knyght; & yn al aduenturs of bataylle, he was stydfast, ful connynge, & tokne of 4 recet to al hys host; & for non vnhap he ne amaved hymself, ne yn wanhope ne fel; ne for ne good chaunce, he ne made hym the prutter ne be more hautayn; bot euer-more, yn al aduen[tu]rs, of stydfast herth & trewe. 8

[CHAPTER XXII.]

sails to England, and finds Henry II at Newnham,

Glostershire, ready to cross to Ireland. The Earl vields all haventowns to Henry,

who goes to Pembroke, and waits there for a wind.

a.]

Henry's Norse goshawk

Than the erl hadde I-hard the trayson pat was I-done of Striguil to Robert, wytht myche sorow of hert he went hym with the host to Watyrford; & per he fond heruy of mountmorthy, that than wase newen I-comen out of englond from be kynge, 12 & broght wryttes, & eke by mych amonested the erl that he shold wend to the kynge. he hade shyppe redy, & good wynd; he name heruy with hym, & went ouer; come to the contre of clandechestre, to Newenham, ther he fond the kynge with mychel 16 host, redy to pass yn-to Irland. & after myche speche betwene ham ymade, & myche dalyaunce, throgh heruyes modelyng & comynge about be erle, & eke hys besechynge, the kynge name of hym manred for to hold leynestre of hym; & the Erl graunted be kynge, 20 dyuelyn, & all the hauen tounes vpon be see, with har Candredes Dublin and & castelles per-vpoil y-set; & that other parte of hys conquestre, he & hys heyres sholden holden of be kynge & hys heyrs. Whan thys was al on thys manere I-done, the kynge toke the wey yn-to 24 south Wales, & cam to pembroke; & ther yn be contre abode with hys host longe whyle, ar he had wynd for to passe. The whyle that he was thar, he hadde houndes & haukes, as man that mych favourable delyted yn suche game. .O. day he went by the strond of be see, 28 & bar a mych goshawke of northwey vpon hys hand. Than sat vp-on an hegh clyff ouer the strond, a faucon gentel, negh hys nest, [* Fol. 12 ther he was woned to brede. The *goshake sawe the facon, & a-bated to hym. the kynge that saw; & kest hym of hys hand; & 32 he nam hys flyght toward the facon, hym fore to henten: the facon sawe hym comynge, & nam hys flyght an heghe, & escaped of hym; be goshawke turned aveyne to be kynges hand; & ar

RAWL. MS. HENRY II PREPARES TO VISIT IRELAND.

Al thynge he did by consayle of his men, and nothynge without / A.D. 1171. Out of battayl, he had more of knyght than of hoste-leder; in battayle / more ledder than knyght / and in al aduentures of In praelio battayle, he was stydfaste, ful conynge, and tokyn of recette to al his fixum suis hoste; and for no vnhape he was not aferde hym-Selfe, ne in van- recuperationis et hope ne felle; ne for no good chaunce, he was not the Pruttyr, ne refugit the heyer; but euer-more, in al aduentures, of stydfaste herte and signum manebat. trewe.

[CHAPTER XXII.]

TY Han the Erle had herde the trayson that was done to Capitulum Robert, with myche Sorrow of herte he went with al the xxij^m. hoste to watyrford; and ther he founde heruey of montmurthy, that that tyme was come out of England frome the kynge, and broght writtes, and Eke mych amonneschyd the Erle that he sholde wend to the kynge. he had ship redy, and good wynd; he toke heruey with hym, and went ouer; come to the contrey of clandecestre, to New-Enham, ther he found the Kynge with grette hoste, redy to Passe Into Irland: and aftyr mych Speche betwen ham made, and myche delyaunce, throgh herueyes medlynge and comynge about the circum-Erle, and also his besechynge, the kynge toke of hym concayle forto pariter et holde leynystre of hym; and the Erle graunted the kynge, deuelyn, interventu and al the hawyn tounes upon the see, with hare candredes and castelis there-vpon sette ; and that othyr Parte of his conqueste, * He [* Fol. 11 and Hys heyres sholde Holde of the Kynge and [his] Heyrys. Whan this Was on this manere done, the kynge toke the way into South walis, and came to Pembroke¹; and ther in the contrey abode with his hoste longe tyme, ar thay had wynd to Passe. The whyle that he was there, he hadd houndes and haukys, as man that mych delytyth in Such game. O day, he went by be see stronde, and bar a mych goshauke of Norwey on his hande. Than Sate vpon an hey clyfe ouer the stronde, a faucon gentyll, ney his neste, ther he was wonyd to brede. the goshauke Saw the faucon, and abated to hym laeva hym forto smyte. the faucon saw hym comynge, and toke his flyght projecit an hey, and Escapid of hym. the goshauke turnyd ayeyn to the

¹ Et Penbrochiam veniens, pulcherrimam in brevi Milverdico portu [Milford Haven] classem conjunxit.—Gir. Camb. *Op.* v. 273.

58 THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XXIII, XXIV). [DUBL. MS.

A.D. 1171. is kild by a Welsh falcon.

he myght fully take to hym, the facond smote to hym from an heyght, & forcleue hym the rygge, & kest hym adoune dede at the kynges foote. Al thay that hyt saw, hadden ther-of myche wondyr. Than bade the kynge, that fro that tyme, the bryddes of that facons 4 neste shold euer-mor be I-kepte to hys owne be-houe; & so thay wer, euery yeyr; & yn al hys kynge-dome wer non so good facons I-found, ne so bold.

[CHAPTER XXIII.]

O'Rourke. king of Meath,

assaults Dublin, early in but is beaten off by Miles of Cogan; and his son is slain.

The while that thys was, Roueryke, the kynge of Myth,-- 8 awayted that the erl was out of lond; & Reymond & lytel folk was beleft ar dyuelyn, the syte & be contrey for to kepe,with mych folke come to dyuelyn about myd-heruest, & assaylled the walles of be syte with gret streynth & loly crye, & wend 12 September, wel to have I-take be syte, & al bat ber-In was, bote ther streynthys & stalwarthnesse, hyt mote nedes shewe hymself: Myles de Cogañ & hys men preuely wenten out, & smote grymly vpon ham, so bat yn lytell whyl thay weren al dyscomfyted. Bot 16 roury hymself vnnethe escaped ; & hys sone, a welle stalwarth man amonge hys folk, was thar I-slawe, wyth many other.

[CHAPTER XXIV.]

Nota : de 1 primo aduentu Regis Angl*iae* in hib*erniam* Henry II lands at Waterford 1171, fulfilling prophecies of Merlin and St. Moling.

ftir this, whan the kynge had I-dyght al that nede was to so noble comynge ynto Irlond, he went to seynth 20 dauyes; & besoght the holy man, sevnt dauy, with grett deuocion & mych wurshyppe. And the weder hym come, & wynd at wylle. He put hym to saylle; passed the see, hool & sound; & arryued at Waterford on seynt lukes day, with fywe houndred knyghtes, 24 on Oct. 18, & men, an hors an a foot, fulle many. Than was fulfylled a prophycye that Merlyn seyd: "out of be Este shal come a fyr bernynge, & shal Irlond al about for-swely." And seynt Molynge seyd pus: "Out of be eeste shal come a stronge thondred, & shal 28 smyte yn-to be weste, & al the streynth of Ormond adoun brynge." He arryued, the yer of hys kyngedome, senthe; of hys elde .xl.;

> ¹ Later note in right margin : 'For in Martilogis the king brought 400 great shippes into Irelande, and in short time subdued the whole lande, beinge governed by 5 kinges, all which submitted to the king, except the king of Connaght, who kept himself in woods and marishes.'

kyngys hand; and, Ar he myght fully take to hym, the faucon smote A.D. 1171. to hym from an hey, and for-clew hym the bake, and kest hym doune ¹ singulis rex annis, ded at the kynges fote. Al thay that hit Saw, ther-of had grete circa nidiwondyr. ¹Than comandid the kynge, that fro that tyme, birdis of *ficationis tempora*, that faucon-is neste shold euer-more be kepe to his owyn behow; propter and So thay were, euery yere. And in al his kyngdome wer terrae none So good faucones y-found, ne so bolde.

[CHAPTER XXIII.]

THe mene-tyme that this was / Roueryke, the kynge of duntur, mittere mythe1,-be-helde his tyme, and that the Erle out of lond was, consuevit. and Reymond and lytil peple was lefte at Deuelyn, the Cite and the $\frac{\text{Capitulum}}{\text{xxiij}^{\text{m}}}$. contrey to kepe,-wyth mych pepyl come to deuelyn about myd hervyst, and assaylid the wallis of the Cite with gret Streynth and grymly cry, and wend wel to have take the Cite, and al that therin was. But ther streynthis and bolnys, hit mote nede Schow hym- Sed quo-Selfe : Miles de Cogan and his men priuely wentyn out, and smote niam virtus grymly vpon ham, so that in lytyll whyle thay weryn al dys- claudi comfyted. But Roury hym-Selfe vnneth Escapyd; and his Sonne, ignis opa wel bolde man amonge his pepil, was ther Slayn, with many pressus, in flammam ober.

[CHAPTER XXIV.]

ftyr this, whan the kynge had dygh al that nede was to So Capitulum nobyl comynge into Irland, he went to Seynt Dauves, and xxiiij^m. besoght the holy man, seynt Dauy, with gret deuocion and myche wyrchippe. and then wynde and weddyr hym come at wille. he Nota de putte hym to sayle, and passyd the see, holde and Sounde ; and primo aduentu londyd at Watyrford on Seynte Luke-is day, with fyue hundred Regis Anglie in knyghtes, and men an hors and a foote, ful many. Than was fulfillid hiberniam. a prophesy that Merlyn Sayd thus / "Out of the Este shal come a fyre brennynge, and shal Irland al aboute forswely." And seynt Molynge sayd thus, "Out of the Este shal come a stronge thondyr, Veniet ab and shal smyte into the weste, and al the streynth of Ormond aurora adoune brynge." he londyt, the yere of the kynge-dome, the Senfte ; validus. of his age, the xl; of our lordys incarnacion, M[†]. Clxxij; and was

¹ rex monoculus Medensis Ororicius . . . cum multitudine magna, circa kalendas Septembris, Dubliniam venit.-Op. v. 274.

falcon s illius, qui marinis in rupibus exclu-

nescit: et erumpit.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XXV). [DUBL. MS.

A.D. 1171. of our lordes Incarnacion .M.C.lxxij ; & was poppe, Alexander the thryd ; Emperour, ffryderyke ; kynge of ffraunce, lowyse.

[CHAPTER XXV.]

The kynge abode at Waterford a fewe dayes. Henry II Theder has Fitzcome the sytzeyns of weysford, & broght to hym Robert 4 Stephen steuenesse-sone, as for gret seruyce, & yn hope of good reward; ffor as myche as he come yn-to Irlond, lond to conquer, wythout auctoryte of hegher prynce, & yaue other, ensample for to comen ynto the lond. The kynge, at the byggynnyge, told of hym grete s [*Fol. 12 * vnworthynesse; & edwyte hym, with grete thretynge, of that grete **b**.] boldnesse; & lete take hym, y-bound as he was, & gyued hym to another, & put hym yn Rathnyldestour for to kepen. put in Soine prison. The King per-after come the kynge of Corke, Dermot Maccarthy, & yeld 12 of Cork hym to the kynge, & dydde hym homage, & swar hym hold does homage to othes, & delyuered hym ostages for to be to hym hold & trew, Henry II; & ber hym truage euery yer of hys land. ffrom thus, the kynge went wythe the hoste to lysmore, & ther was twey dayes; & fro 16 thus, went to Casshle. Theder came donald Obreen, kynge of so do the lymeryke, to hym vpon the watyr of ssur; & for to have pees, King of yeld hym to be kynge yn al manere as Maccathy hadde done. Limerick, The kynge set kepers both at Corke & at lymeryke; & to hym 20 comen the hoste of both contrees aftyr Maccathy & Obreen, & yeld ham to be kynge, & becomen hys mey n by othes & ostages; so that and all the best ther was none that war of any name yn al Monestre, that by hys folk of Munster. good wylle ne yeld hym to the kynge. Whan thys was al I-done. 24 the kynge, with mych wyrsshyppe & wyth ryche yiftes, lete euery man wend yn-to hys owne lond, & went hym-self by Tybrach Henry II returns to ayeyne to Waterford. per was ayeyne Robert y-broght to-for hym. Waterford, The kynge saw hym, & bethoght hym of be gret goodnesse bat 28 was yn hym, & of hys stalwarthnesse & hys hardy hert; of many good services that he & hys hadden I-done, wyth mych trauaylle & grette perille of lyue : he had grett reuth of hym yn hys hert ; &, through besechynge of hegh men, al hys wreth, wyth good hert 32 pardons Fitzhe hym foryaf, & delyueret hym out of pryson, & lete delyuer Stephen, and rehym hys londes pat hym weren be-nomen, of Weysford & of be stores him his lands.

RAWL. MS.] THE IRISH OF CORK ETC. YIELD TO HENRY II.

pope, Alexandyr the thyrd; Emperoure, Frederike; kynge of A.D. 1171. Fraunce, Lowys.

[CHAPTER XXV.]

THe Kyng abod at Watyrforde a few Dayes. Thedyr come [Fol. 12 the Cytteseynys of Weysford, and broght to hym Robert a.] Capitulum Steuenes-Sonne, as for grete Seruyse, and in hope of good reward, xxvm. for-as-mych as he came into Irland, lond to conquere, wythout quasi sub auctorite of heghyr Prince, and yaue othyr ensampil forto come praetextu obsequii, into londe. The kynge, at the begynnynge, tolde of hym gret eo quod Hiberniam Vnuorthynys; and reprewid hym, with grete tretynge, of that grete citra ipsius boldnes; and lette take hym, bound as he was, and gywid hym to assensum primus anothyr, and Put hym in Rathnyldys toure forto kepyn. Sone intraverit, aliisque ther-aftyr come the kynge of Corke, Dermot Maccharthy, and maligyelde hym to the kynge, and dyd hym homage, and Sware hym olde nandi occasionem othis, and delyuerid hym hostagis forto be to hym holde and trew, and praestiterit, ber hym truage euery yere of his land. From thens the kynge went vinctum with the hoste to Lysmor, and ther was two dayes; and fro thens $\frac{et \ cap}{tivum}$ went to Cassell. Thedyr came Donal Obreyne, kynge of Lymerik, adducunt. and to hym on the watyr of Sure; and for-to have pees, yelde hym to the kynge in al maner as Macchardy hadd done. The kynge Sette keperes both at Corke and at Lymerike ; and to hym come the Best of both contreis aftyr maccharthy and Obreñ, and yelde ham to the kynge, and be-comyn his men by othis and hostagys, so that ther has none that was holde of any reputacion in al Monester, that by his good wyll ne yelde hym to the kynge. Whan this was al done, the kynge, with mych vyrchip and wyth ryche yeftys, lette euery man wend into his owyn lond, And wente hym-Selfe by Tybraght ayeyne to watyrford. ther was ayeyn Robert broght to-for hym. The kynge Saw hym, and bethoght hym of the grete rex videns goodnesse that was in hym, and of his boldnys and his hardy herte, virum tantis forof many good servyces that he and his haddyn done with mych tunae periculis, et trauayl and grete Perel of lyfe. He had of hym grete Pite in his toties, exherte; and, throw besechynge of good men, al his wreth with good positum. herte he hym for-yaue, and delyuerid hym out of prisone, and delyuerid hym his londys that of hym wer take fro, of Weysford

Master Gerald says nothing of traitors being drawn and quarterd.

of Con-

naught

yield to

gers.

ā.]

of St. Moling

and Merlin.

nobles

Sacrilegious

denly.

contrey about. Some syggen that the kynge lete to-draw the A.D. 1171. traytours that hym betrayed; Bot Maystre Geroud ne telleth nothynge ber-of; & ther-fore I ne tel hyt nat to sothe, bot hyt oght well be so. 4

[CHAPTER XXVI.]

Than be kynge had thus I-do, he left at Waterford, Robert beranardesson, wyth mych meyne; &, by Ossery, name the wey toward dyuelyn. In that wyage, the kynge of Ossery came to hym, & yeld hym to the kynge; & whan he hade I-bydde 8 awhylle at dyuelyn, theder come Al te heghest Iresshe-men of The Kings leynestre, & besoghten pees, & yolden ham to the kyng. Roryke O'conghour, the kynge of Connaght, ayeyns the kynges messagers and Meath at the watyr shynnen, - that ys to wytten, hugh be lacy & wyllyam 12 Henry II's Al-delines sone,-ther he yeld hym to be kynge; & the kynge of messen-Myth Also; So that ther has none heght man yn Irland, that ne come to the kynges owne body, or sent messagers for to be-comen hys man, & yeld hym to hym, sawe only thay of vlnestre. Than 16 Prophecies was fulfylled a prophecye that seynth Molynge seyd: "To-for hym shall foot-*falle be prynces, & trogh 1 boxom-fastines 2 the lyme of [* Fol. 13 pees shul vnderfonge." Merlyn seyd an-other : "Tho is lyght, the foules of the Iland shollen togedder fle; & the most of ham, with 20 har wenges I-brant, shollen ouerthrowen yn thraldome; the fyf deles shollen be broght yn-to on, & the syxt shal ouercome the strengest places of Irland." Whan the mydwyntter came, many of the heghest The Irish comen to be kynges court to feste; & myche wonder ham thoght 24 wonder at of the noble service that bey ber saw, & of the myche plente of the fine meals and decorations mete & of drynke, of bordes I-sette, & fay? clothes vpon; the hegh at Henry service of panetrye & buttellerie, & ryche vessels of gold & syluer; II's feast. the many manere metes of kechen, on the manere of Englond, 28 whych thay had neuer per-to-fore I-sey. After that be fest was heghly & fayr I-hold, euery man went wyth gladnesse yn-to hys owne. In that tyme, weren bowemen at ffynglas I-horberowed, & wenten ynto chyrche haye, & hewen adoun trees, that seyntes 32 by old tyme hadden ber I-sete : ber came sodeyn deth vpon ham, bowmen euerychow. [See Giraldus's Topogr. Hibern. Opera, v. 135.] die sud-

¹ A later overline h is above the tr of 'trogh.'

² or 'fastmes.'

and of the contrey aboute. Some sayne that the kynge lette to- A.D. 1171. draw the traytoures that hym betrayed. But Maystyr Geraud ne tellyth nothynge ther-of; and therfor y ne tell hit not for throuth, but hit oght wel be so.

[CHAPTER XXVI.]

Whan the kynge had thus done, he lefte at watyrford, Robert Capitulum xxvj^m. Barnardessonne, with mych pepill; and, by Ossory, toke his way to Deuelyn. In that vyage, the kynge of Ossory came to hym, and yolde hym to the kynge. and whan he had bydd awhyle at deuelyn, thedyr came all the heghyst Irysh-men of leynystre, and be-soghten pees, and yeldyn ham to the kynge. Roryke Oconghoure, the kynge of connaght, ayeynes the kynges messaungeris at the watyr nunciis regiis . . of shynnyn,-that is [to] Say, hugh de Lacy and Willam aldelines occurrit. Sone,-ther he yelde hym to the kynge; And the kynge of Myth also; So that ther was no man of any reputacioun that he ne come to the * Kyngys owyn Body, or Sent messangeres forto Becomyn Hys man, [*Fol. 12 Saue only thay of vllyster // Than was fulfillid a prophesy that Seynt Molyng sayd: "To-for hym shal foote-fall the pryncys, and, procident throgh buxumfastnys, the lyme of pees shal vndyrfonge" // Merlynge et fucato sayd anothyr prophesy: "To his lyght, the foulys of the yland sub foedere pacis shullyn to-geddyr fle; and the mest of ham, with har wynges amorem y-brante, shullyn ouer-throwyn in thraldome 1. the fywe delys guentur. shal be broght into one, and the Syxte shal ouercome the Strongyst sextus places of Irland" / Whan the Mydwyntyr came, many of the heghest $\frac{Hiberniae}{moenia}$ men comyn to the kynges courte to feste; and mych wondyr thay subvertet. had of the nobil seruyce that they ther Sawe, and of the mych plente of mete and of drynke, of bordys sette, and fayre clothis vpoñ; the hey Service of panetrye and buttellerye, and rych wesselis of golde and Syluyr; the many maner metys of kechen, on the maner of Englond, whych they had neuer ther-to-for Seyn². Aftyr that the feste was ryaly holde, euery man went wyth gladnys into his owyn. In that tyme weryn bow-men at Fynglas y-herberowid, and wentyn Into church-hay, and hewyn adovn trees that Seyntys by olde tym had ther Sette : there came Sodayn deth vpon ham eueryon.

¹ corruent in capturam. ² Why wasn't this crane bit englisht? 'carne gruina, quam hactenus abhorruerant, regia voluntate passim per aulam vesci coeperunt.'—Op. v. 280.

Henry II, wishing to purify Irish life, assembles at Cashel.

A.D. 1172. The lond was than yn good pees by-for be kynge, & be pees wel I-hold: the kynge had wel y-hard that be folk of the lond was of vnclene lyf, & ayeyne god & holy chyrche; he thoght that he wold brynge the folk ynto better lyf, & myche 4 the Clergy desyr hadde ther-to; he leth assembly al be clergye of be londe at Casshell, & that me enquered & herd openly the fylthede of the lond-folk yn whych thay ladde har lyf; & setten hyt yn wrytte, vnder the bysshoppes sele of lysmore, that was eke legat of be 8 court of Rome, & heghest of dygnyte ouer al thay that ther wer; & be statutes of holy chyrche Whych yit men halte, yn be manere pat holy chyrche ham holte yn Englond, he lete thar sette : whych statutz, yn the wordes that thay weren ther I-swewed, ys non 12 harme thegh me expresse ham here :---

NARACIO. [CHAPTER XXVIII.]

at Cashel, under the Romish Legate,

NARACIO. In the yer of our lordes Incarnacion M.C.Ixxij, the forme yer that be kynge of england, henry, Irland wan; The Synod Crystyen, bysshoppe of lysmore, & legat of pe court of Rome¹; 16 Dougher, Erchebysshoppe of Casshell; laurenz, Erchebysshoppe of dyuelyn; Cathel, erchebysshoppe of Connaght; wyth leed the Bishop bysshoppes, Abbotes, priours, & many other prelates of holy of Lismore. chyrche yn Irland, throgh the same kynges commaundement 20 coment to-gedder yn be See of Casshel; &, for be state of holy chyrch to brynge yn-to better fourme, helden ther har conssaylle. To thys conseyl, coment these from the kynge I-sent: a noble man

Statutes or Rolf, abbot of byldewdys; Ralf, Erchedekene of landaf; Nychol 24 Constitutions made the prest, & other many, the kynges clerkes & hys messagers. The statutes or constytucions of that consaylle bed these here at it :---1. Irish-I-wrytten, & by the kynges auctoryte I-stablet. I The fyrst ys, men shall that crysten men In Irland shvllen leuen har kynnes-wommen 28 put away [+ Fol 13. + & her sybbes, whyche bay have ar thys I-hold to har wylle out of b.] spoushode, & lawfully spouse other wommen, & spousehede lawfully their concubine hold². That other ys, that the chyldren, at be chyrche dorre kinsshullen ben I-primseined 3 of the prestes hond, & yn be holy 32 women, and marry fantstones yn har moder chyrches to be I-fulled 4. The thrydde,

legally. ¹ Late sidenote in MS.: 'Establishment of orders for the Clergy, and 2. Children matters of Religion.' shall be

baptized in ² repudiato cognatarum et affinium contubernio, legitima contrahant matrichurch monia, et observent.-Op. v. 282. ³ catezizentur. ⁴ baptizentur. fonts.

RAWL. MS.] CASHEL STATUTES FOR IRISH SOCIAL & CHURCH REFORM. 65

The lond was than in good pees by-for the kynge, and the pees Capitulum wel holde. the kynge herde that the pepil of the londe was xxvij^m. of vnclen lyfe, and aveyn godd and holy churche. he thogh[t] that he wolde bryng the pepil Into bettyr lyfe; and mych desyr had therto. he Sende for al the clergy of the lond at Casshel; and that he Enquerid and herde opynly the fylthed of the lond-pepill in tam enormitatibus whych thay lad har lyfe; and Setten hit in writ, vndyr the Bischopis sele of lysmore, that was also legat of the courte of rome, and spurcitiis. heyghest of dygnyte ouer al thay that there were. and the Statutes Statuta of holy church, whyche yit men halte 1 in the maner that holy church $\frac{\text{Cassellen-}}{sig}$ ham holte in England, he lette thare Sette: Whych Statutes, in the 1 quae adhuc extant. Wordis that thay weryn ther Shewyd, is none harme thegh y expresse ham here:---

[CHAPTER XXVIII.]

N the yere of oure lord-is incarnacyon M[†]. Clxxij, the fryste Capitulum yere that the kynge of En[g]land, henry, Irland conquerid², ^{xxviij^m} Crystyn, Byschope of Lysmore, and Legate of the Courte of Rome; Dougher, Archebyschope of Cassel; Laurance, Arcebishope of Deuelyn; Cathel, Arcebyschope of connaght; with othyr Byschopis, Catholicus abbotis, pryorys, and many othyr prelatys of holy church in Irland, nensis (Coby the same kyngys comaundement comyn to-geddre in the Cee of nactensis, Harl. 177). Casshel; and, for the State of holv church to bryng into bettyr state, heldyn ther har consayle. to this Consayle comyn thes from the kynge, that is to say: a nobyl-man Rolfe, Abbote of byldewais; Ralfe, Archedekyn of landaf; Nycol the Preste, and othyr many of the Nicolaus kyngys clerkys and his messagers // The Statutes or constytuciones capellanus. of that consayle ben this her writtyn, And by the kynges auctorite Stabelid // The fryst is, that crystyn men In Irland sholde lewe jm. har kynnys-women, whych thay haue ar this holde to har will out cognataof Spoushode, and lawfully spouce othyr women, * and Spoushode affinium. Lawfully Holde // The Seconde is, that the chyldryn at the church ij^a. dore sholde be y-primseined of the prestes honde, and in the holy [*Fol. 13 b.] fantstonys in hare modyr chyrchis to be yfullid. The thyrde, that iij^a.

² conquesid, MS.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XXVIII). [DUBL. MS.

A.D. 1171-2. 3. Tithes to be paid. 4. Church lands to be left in peace.

5. Clergy not to pay any of kinsmens fines for Manslaughter. 6. Wills to be made openly. Property to gotofamily in thirds,

or halves.

7. As to funeral services. to go oft to Church. All Services to be in the English way.

In winter. no ships can get to Ireland.

that every crysten man lawfullych pay hys tethynges to hys paroche chyrche, of corne & of al other thynge that a yer hym aneweth 1. If The ferthe, that al be londes of holy chyrche & har possessiouns, of al herthly askynge be quyte; & namely, that no 4 kynges ne other heye men, ne her sonnes, ne her meygnees, mette ne herbrowe yn chyrche londes, ne ask, ne wyth streynth ne be so hardy to take; & that Cursed me[te] that four syth a yer was wonet to be asked yn chyrche tounes, & of the next neghbors, neuer eft 8 I The fyft, that of manslaghttre that lewed men doth, be asked. whan man maketh fyn with hys foman, the clerkes that ben hys kynnes-men, no bynge ne yeue ne yeld ther-to; bot, as thay ben gyltles of the dede, also be thay harmles of be payement. I The 12 syxth, that whan a man ys seke, he shal make testament openly to-for hys prestes of the parorch, & to-fore hys neghbors; & after hys dettes & seruauntes hyre out take, dele hys catel a thre; yf he hath wyf & chyldren, that on to hys spoused wyf, that other 16 to hys shyldren, The thryde to hys testament. And yf he hath non chyldren by spouse, the good be y-deled bytwene hym & hys wyf, euery Ilyche; & yf the wyf deyeth, the goodes be I-deleth a thre bytwene the housbond, & the chyldren, & the wyf. I The 20 .vij. that whan a man other a woman deyeth, har wathe 2, & the seruyce of holy chyrche, & the buryeng, be man-shyply I-done. 8. All folk I The .viij. that al meil & wommen wyrshyppe holy chyrche, & oft go to chyrche; & holy chyrche yn al seruyce be gouerned on the 24 maner that hyt ys yn England. In al these thynges, the kynge vnto the lond come, many defautes wer yn the land I-found, & much horynesse or oryble synnes that me ne aght nat to speke of, that-through grace of god, & by the kynges purueyaunce & hys 28 myght-weren amendet, & yn better wonne I-brozth. C The prymat of Ardmagh was nat at thys conssaylle, ne theder myght come, for he wase old Man & feble; Bot he come ther-after to dyuelyn, & graunted yn al thyng the kynges purueyaunce. In 32 thys tyme was the weder so stronge, & the wynd so aweyward, that yn al the wyntyr ne myght no shyppe com ouer yn-to Irland.

> ¹ 16th century side-note : 'the privileges and frydom gyven to the church, and londs ther of.' ² ? mistake for 'wache,' or th used for k, as on p. 67, 1. 4.

cuery crystyn man lawfully pay his thethis to his Parashe church, A.D. of corne, and of al othyr thynges that a yere hym aneweth // The $\frac{1171-2}{1117}$ iiije, that al the landis of holy church and har Possessiones of al animalium, Erthly askynge be quyte; and namely, that no kynges +, ne othyr hey frugum, ceterarummen, ne her Sones, ne her menyes, mete ne herbrow in church que provenlondys, ne aske / ne with streynth ne be So hardy to take; and that $\frac{tionum}{[+ MS.]}$ Cursed met that foure tymes a yere was wonyd to be askyd in nothynge.] church tounes, and of the nexte neghbores, neuer aftyr to be axed ¹. The Ve, that of manslaghtre that lewid men doth, whan men makyth ve. fyne with his enemy, the clerkys that ben his kynnys-men, nothynge quolies inde cum ne yeue therto; but, as thay ben gyltles t of the dede, also thay be inimicis harmeles of the pament. The vje. that whan a man is seke, he suis comshal make testament opynly, to-for his preste of the parash and vj^a. to-for his evyncrystynnes and aftyr his dettis and his seruauntes [‡ MS. glytles.] vagis out-take, dele his catel athre. yf he haue wyfe and chyldryn, that on to the Spousyd wyf, that othyr to his chyldryn, the thyrd to his testament. And yf he have no childe [by] Spouse, the good be ² inter ipsum et y-delid betwen hym and his wyfe, euery y-lyke. and yf the wyfe liberos deyeth, the good be y-delid at thre², betwene the hosbonde, and the *bipartiri debent*. chyldryn, and the wyfe / The vije, that whan a man oper woman vija. deveth, har wache, and the seruyce of holy church³, and the burienge, be wyrchiply done // The viije. that al men and women wyrchip viija. holy church, and ofte go to church; and holy church in al seruyce be $\frac{3}{rum \ et \ vigi}$. gouerned on al maner that hit is in England. In al thes thynges, liarum exhibitione. the kynge Into the lond come 4, many defautes were in the land found, multimoda and mych felth or orribil synnys that y ne oght not to Speke of, malorum genera. that,--by the grace of god and by the kynges purueyaunce and his myght-weryn amendid, and in bettyr state broght // The Primat of Ardmagh was not at this consail, ne thedyr myght come, for he [5. Harl. 177 ends a was olde man and febill. But he come ther-aftyr to deuelyn, and chapter here too. graunted in al thynge the kynges Purueyaunce 5. In this tyme was and leaves the weddyr so stronge, and the wynd so aweyward, that in al the out the Archbp.'s wyntyr ne myght no shipp come ouer Into Irland. the kynge white cow.]

F 2

¹ et quod de villis ecclesiarum cibus ille detestabilis, qui quater in anno a vicinis comitibus exigitur, de cetero nullatenus exigatur.—Op. v. 282.

^{* ?} abl. abs.-Nam ante ipsius adventum in Hiberniam.-Op. v. 283.

1171-2. a.] Henry II gets the best Irishside.

A.D.

A.D. 1172. He hears

ble İnterdict on his land, and

the treasonous conspiracy

He is grievd,

as he wanted to fortify Ireland,

and keep it.

The kynge went to Watyrford, & abode ther a whyle, & ful mych desyre adde for to hyr tythynges from beyont see. & of the [* Fol. 14 knyghtes that he fond *yn Irland, he drogh to hym sleghly for o coste the beste : as Reymond, Myles de Cogan, wyllyam Masturel, 4 & other, for to make hys part be strenger, & the Erles parte the men on his fobler[so]. C After the myd-lente, come shyppes yn-to Irland, that hard tythynges hym broght, & lydder, bothe out of engeland & out of fraunce, And normande, & other londes ; ffor ynto Normandy 8 bad news: weren ycome twey cardinalles, from the poppe Alexander y-sent (that oon heght Albertus, & that other Theodynus), for to serchen & enqueren of the holy martyres deth, seynt Thomas: ryghtful men, as me vnderstond, & to that lawfully y-chosen / natheles thay 12 weren Romayns; & such folweth oft coueytyse; &, bot the kynge the proba- come the rather to ham, the kyngedome of england, & al the londes that he was lord of, sholden be entredyted. & (as me fynd oft 1 , good aduentures comen oft slowly & aloon, bot mesaduentures 16 ne cometh neuer-more aloon;) wyth thay tythynges comen other mychel wers, & of more perylle; ffor the kynges sone, henry, the eldest, whyche he so fayne was obout to crowne kynge of England, & other tweyn of hys bretheren, (that through yought & foolrede 20 of his sons. hym folwed, & many drogh to ham, both of england & of beyend be see.) waren I-swore to-gredder to entre vp-on the kynge, & bynyn hys londes, The whyle that he was yn Irlaud: & wel may be that hyt was I-purueyed bytwen ham, ar he ynto Irland wente. 24 € Whan the kynge thys herd, he was² yn grete anguysshe.

sory he was at the begynnyge, bat he, gyltles, was I-retted of the holy mannes deth; sore he was afred that hys londes shold bene I-shent throught that lydder dede of hys sonne; sore hym for- 28 thoght, that he the lond of Irland so sone most fore-lete, whyche he hade y-cast for to streynth with castell, & stable yn pees, the next somer that was to comen. Of al thys, he was yn many thoghtes; & spake ther-of fyrst to hymself, per-after to hys men. 32 Aftyr many redes, he sent some of hys ynto England by-fore hym; & ther-after he puruyed how he myght sykyrlychest kepe Irland.

¹ MS. est.

² MS. way.

wente to watyrford, and abode ther awhile, and grettely desyr hadd A.D. forto hyr thythyngis from be-yont see. And of the knyghtes that 1171-2. he found in Irland, he drew to hym wylely for o Purpos, the beste, as Reymond, Miles de cogan, Willam Masturel and othyr, forto A.D. 1172. make his parte the strongyr, and the Erlis parte the febelier / Aftyr the myd-leynte, come shippis into Irland that 1 screwid thythynges naves adhym broght / out of England, and out of Fraunce, And Normandye, *veniunt*, *tam gravi*and othyr londes. For into Normandy weryn come two cardynalis, tatis nun-ciae, quam from the pope Alexandre Sende, - that one was callid Albert, and pravitatis. that othyr Theodoin, —forto serche and e[n] quere of the holy martires deth, Seynt Thomas. (ryghtful men, as y-vndyrstode, and to that lawfully chose.) ² Natheles, they were Romanys ; and such * folwyth [* Fol. 13 ofte covetys²; and, But the Kynge come the Sondyr to Hame³, the ^{b.]}_{³nisi citius} Kyngdome of England, and al the londys that he was lord of, eis rex Sholdyn be Entredytyd, and (as y fynd ofte, good aduentures comyn occurrerit. ofte Slowely and aloon, but mysaduentures ne comyth neuer more al-oon,) Wyth thay thythyngys, comyn moche wors, and of moche more Pereyl. For the kynges sone henry, the eldyst, whych he So fayn was to crovne kynge of England, and othyr two of his bretheryn (that throw youuth and fooly hym folwid, and many drew fratrum to hame both of England and of beyonde See,) ware Swern to-giddre/ puerili levilate to Entyr vpon the kynge and take his landis, The whyle that he secuti, was in Irland: And hit may wel be, that hit was Purveyed be-twen consilio. ham, ar he into Irland went // Whan the kynge this herde, he was in grete a[n]gwysche: Sory he was at the begynnynge, that he, gyltles, was yretted of the holy manys deth⁴. Sore he was aferd, that his londes sholde ben shente throw that vngoodly dede of his Sonnes. Sore hym forthoght, that he the londe of Irland so sone moste leue, whych he had Purposid to streynth wyth castelis, and stabil in pees, tam incasthe nexte Somer that was to come. Of al this, he was in many tellare quam thoghtys, and spake therof fryst to hym-Selfe, theraftyr to his men. firma stabilire pace. And aftyr many consalys, he Send Some of his men into England to-for hym; And there-aftyr he Pvrueyed how he myght Svrly kepe Irlande /

¹ thad, MS. ²⁻² sed tamen Romani.—Op. v. 285. ⁴ se tanta tam immerito suspicione notari.—Ibid.

A.D. 1172.

Henry II leaves Leaders at Dublin to keep Ireland,

and sails ford on Easter Monday. At St. Davids, in Wales,

a Welshwoman complains to him,

and she appeals for vengeance on bim, to the stone of Lechlavar,

the 'speaking stone' (prophesied of by Merlin

which lies over a stream N. of the church yard.

As a corpse over it, the stone spoke.

Te left at dyuelyn, the cyte & the contray to kepe, hught de lassy, wyth .xx.^{ti} knyghtes ; Robert steuenes-sone, & Morvce fytz Geraud, wytht other .xx.ti at Waterford; hunfrey de boun, Robert Bernardesson, & hugh de Gundeuyl wyth .xl.ti 4 knyghtes; At weysford, wyllyam Al-delines-sone¹ & phylppe de Breuse wyth .xx.^{ti} knyghtes. And a morow after Estre day from Wex- herly, he dydde hym to saylle at Weysford, & arryued at seynth dauyes, sone after none. Whan he come a lond, he went 8 wyth grete deuoccion to the modyr chyrche, as a pylgrymage, a-foot, with a burdow yn hys hond. Come the chanons of the chyrche ayeyne hym at the whyte yate, & with fayr processioun, with mych reuerence, & with mych manshype, hym receyued. As 12 be processyoun yede a rewe to-for hym, come a walche womman, & fel hym to be feet, & made a myche mone, yn hyre langage, of the bysshope of that place. The [kynge] stode, & herd hyr [Fol.14b.] mone || of an ynterpretour-es mouth that hyt hym told; & for he 16 he goes on, went forth, & dydde hyr no ryght anoon as tho wolde, she smote hyr handes to-gyddre, & bytterly began to crye tofore ham Al, a walshe langage, "A-wreke vs to-daye, lahlauar! A-wreke our kynred & our folke of thys man!" Thay that vnderstode hyr 20 speche, put hyr away, & fore-bade hyre cryynge; & sho so myche the more cryed yn the same manere, & hoped to an old prophecye that Merlyn seyd : "The kynge of england that shal wyn Irland shal be I-woundet yn Irland of a man with a rede hond; & as 24 he cometh aveyne by south wales, he shal deve vpon lehlauar:" pat was be name of a stone, that lay ouer a streme by north the chyrche heye of seynt dauyes, yn stydde of a brygge. The stone was of Marbel wel fayr, & smothe of mannes geynge, & hadde 28 .x. feet yn leynth, & .vi. yn brede, & a foot thykke. And ys 'lehlauar,' a walshe, as mych to sygge as 'a spekynge stone.' And hyt was ytold, that som tyme as me bar a dede body ouer that stone, was carried he began to speke; & wyth the spech he claue throghout; & yit 32 the clyft ys I-sene, & yit yn-to thys day me be-bereth no dydde body ouer that stone. The kynge come to that stone, & bethoght

> ¹ Weisefordiae, vero Guillelmo Aldelini filio, Philippo de Hastinges, et Philippo de Breusa .- Op. v. 286. [William Fitz-Audeline.]

RAWL. MS.] HENRY II LEAVES IRELAND. THE 'SPEAKING STONE.'

TE lefte at Deuelyn the Cite and the contray to kepe Capitulum Hugh de Lacy with xx^{ti}. knyghtes, Robert Steuenes-Sone ^{xxix^m}. and Morice fiz-geraud, wyth othyr xxti.; at Waterford Humfrey de A.D. 1172. bonn, Robert Barnardes-Sone and Hugh de Gondeuyl, with xl. Hugone de knyghtes / At Weysford, Willam Aldelines sone and Philip de Gunde-villa. Bruse, with xx^{ti}. knyghtes. And amorrow, aftyr estyr-day, Erly he did hym to Sayle at Weysford and londid at Seynt dauyes sone aftyr noone. Whan he come alond he went wyth grete deuccion to the modyr church as a Pylgrymage afoote with a devoto stafe in hande. Come the chanones of the church ayeynes hym nantium at the white yate; and wyth fayre processioun¹, wyth mych more, reverence and wyth mych wirchip, hym resceiwid. And as the baculogue Procession yede arew to-for hym, come a Walch woman, and fel suffultus. to-for his feete, and made mych mone in hyr Speche of the Bischop of that Place. He stod, and herde hyr complaynte of an interpretoure-es mouth that hit hym tolde; and, for he wente forth, and quoniam did hyr no ryght anoone as sho wolde, She smote hyr handis to- jus suum incongiddyr and bittyrly began to cry to-for ham al in walch Speche: tinenti non est assecut. "A-wreke vs to-day, lathlauar! wreke our kynred and our pepil of this man!" Thay that vndyrstode hyr Speche, Put hyr away, and forbade hyr cryynge. She so mych the more cried in the cum rubra Same maner, and hopid to an olde prophesy that Merlynge sayde²: manu in Hibernia "The kynge of England that shal conquere Irland [shal be wounded vulnerain Ireland of a man^s] with a rede hand, and as he comyth ayeyn by $\frac{tum}{4}$ gui trans South walis, he shal dye vpon lethlauar": that was the name of fumen a stone, that lay ouer a streme⁴ by north the churchey of Seynte jacens. dauyes, instyd of a brige. The stone was of marbill, * Wel fayr [* Fol. 14 a.] and smoth of men goynge, and was of x fote in Leynth, and vj in Brede, and O foote thykke. And is 'lethlauar' in walch, as mych to say as 'a spekynge stone': and hit was tolde, that Some tyme Lapis that whan ther wase a dede body y-bore ouer that stone, he began loquax to speke; and wyth the speche he clewe through 5-out; and yit the ipso conatu clyfte as Seyn. And sithyn on-to this day, thay berryth no ded crepuit medius. body ouer that stone. The kynge come to that stone, and bethogh[t]

² alludens illi fictitio vulgari, nec vero Merlini proverbio, quo dici solebat.— Op. v. 287. ⁵ throught, MS.

¹ canonicorum ecclesiae processionem . . . invenit. — Op. v. 286.

72THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XXIX, XXX). [DUBL. MS.

A.D. 1172. hym of that prophecye. & he stode at be stones end & grymly hyt Henry II walks over the stone, and asks ' Who 'll now believe the liar Merlin?'

He hears Mass, and goes to and

He swears that he didn't slay Beket, but he does penance,

of France,

be-hold; & awhyle ther-after, boldely yede ouer a good paas. & whan he was ouer, he turned ayeyne to be stone, & deynously bus seyd : "Who shal heten-forward beleue Merlyn the lever?" A man stode 4 per besyde & herd, & wold, hys thankes, saue be prophetes sawe, Answard the kynge & seyd, "Thou art nat that kynge that shal Irland conquer; ne Merlyn ne speketh nat of the." Thus the kynge went yn-to the chyrch, yn seynt Andrees & seynt dauves 8 wyrshyppe I-sette, & herd hys masse of a preste that was I-found fastynge, as god wold. After masse, he eete hys mete ther, & after Haverford, mete wente to hauerford, than ouer .xl. myle; ffrom thens he wente Normandy. hastyly yn-to englande; out of enland yn-to Normandy, & come 12 to-for be cardynalls with mych buxumnesse at Custance. Ther, after myche dalyaunce & many wordes I-spoke, he excused hym by othes of be holye Martyres deth, that he was nat by hym I-slaw; bot he ne for-sok nat that he nas for hym; & perfor he vndretoke 16 such penaunce as holy chyrche hym wold loke. pe cardynals, he sent ayeyne wyth myche wyrshyppe; & noon he went to be marche, & ther he spake with the kynge of ffraunce. per, (through besechynge of hegh men, & namely of phylepe be erl of flaundres, that from 20 and makes seynt James was ryght than I-come,) the pees was made between peace with King Lewis the twey kynges, of the wreth that was betwene ham for the forseyd martyres deth; ffor-thy that be kynge of ffraunce, with other mychel & myghty men, name an hand to the erchebysshopp 24 whan he shold turne ayeyne yn-to England, [ayeyn] the pees betwen the kynge & hym. ffor ber was pees thus y-made betwene the kynges, al the harme bat the sones with har allyees hadden throught to do, was I-lost tyl be next yere theraftyr. 28

[CHAPTER XXX.]

[Fol. 15 a.] Winder this, as the lond of Irland was yn good pees • vnder ham that weren In lefte, the lond for to kepe, byfelle that a day of parlement, at a certeyne place, was betaken by-twene hugh de lacy, whom the kynge had I-yeue dyuelyn to 32 Hugh de Laci and kepe with trust, And be kynge of Myth. a nythe, whan the O'Rourke. King of parlement shold ben a morow, a knygh[t] that was Moryce fytz Meath, Geraudes neuew, & Robert Gryffyn by name, thoght yn hys meet.

hym of that prophesy, and he stod at the stone his ende, and grymly A.D. 1172. hit be-helde; and a whyle ther-aftyr, boldely yede ouer a good pace. and whan he was ouer, he turnyd aveyne to the stone, and deynously thus sayde : "Who shal, fro this forth, beleue Merlynge verbum hoc the lyer?" A man stode ther bysyd, and herde, and wolde, his indignauter thankes, Sawe the prophet-is Saynge, Answerid the kynge and emisit. Sayde, "Ye ben not that kyng that shal Irland conquere, ne Merlyng Spekyth not of yow" / Thus the kynge went into the church of Seynt Androwis and seynte dauyes, and herde his masse of a preste that was founde fastynge, as god wolde. Aftyr masse he ette his mette and aftyr mette went to hauerford than quasi per othyr xv myle. Frome thens he went forth hastely Into England, duodecim out of England into Normandy and come to-for the cardynals abinde with mych buxumnesse at Custaunce. Ther, aftyr mych delyaunce distans. and many wordys spoke, he excusid hym by othys of the holy martyris deth that he was not by hym Slayn, but he forsoke not that he was for hym. And ther-for he vndvrtoke such Penaunce as holy church wolde hym enyoyn. the Cardynalls, he sende ayeyn with mych wirchip; and anoone he went to the ad marmarche, and there he spake with the kynge of Fraunce. There, chiam cum Francorum (through besechvinge of good men, and namely of Phylippe the Erle rege Lodoof Flandris, that frome Seynt lamys was than come.) the Pees was vico ... made betwen the two kynges, of the wreth that was betwen ham for the forsayd martires deth; ¹ For-they that the kynge of Fraunce, ¹ puta with othyr mychel men and myghty / And vndyrtoke to the quem Anglorum archebischope, whan he shold turne Into Englan, ayeyñ the pees rex archibe-twen the kynge and hym. For ther was Pees thus made praesuli in Angliam betwen the kynges, al the harme that the Sonnes, with hare redditure ally ences, haddyn thoght to do, was left til the nexte yere \cdots filether-Aftyr. donaverat.

[CHAPTER XXX.]

Whyr this, as the lond of Irland was in good pees Capitalum vndyr ham that weryn lefte, the londe for-to kepe, by-fel^{XXX^{III}.} on a day, that a certayn Place, to a parlement was sette, be-twen Hugh de Lacy, to whom the kynge had yewe Deuelyn to kepe wyth truste, and the kynge of myth. On a nyght, whan et'regem the Parlement shelde ben amorrow, a knyght, that was Morice monoculum fiz-geraudes eme, and Robert Gryffyn by name, thoght in his Medensem.

A.D. 1172. slepe that he saw a mych flote of wylde swyne yernynge vp-on Griffith hugh & moryce; & a boore amonge ham, myche & grysly ouer al Fitzother, come toward ham, & with hys tuskes wold have smytten Gerald's dream: he ham & I-slawe, yf he stalwarthly ne had y-come betwene, & 4 saves De Laci, & I-slawe the bore, & I-holpe ham bothe. A morow, thay went to be Maurice place ther be parlement was I-sette, at a place that me hath seth Fitz-Gerald. y-cleped 'rorykes hylle': ffyrst thay helden har parlement from The interferr, by messagers goynge betweid; ther-after thay name sekernesse 8 view is at Rorik's of othes I-sworne, & comen to-geddre by forward; natheles few, Hill. & ylych fale on ether halue, and thay ynwepened, -- bot the one, her swerdes; & the other, her sparthes,---& ether of har folke somdel fer from ham. Gryffyn, that with Moryce was to the parlement 12 Griffith keepsseven I-come, was ful thought-ful of the vysyow that he sawe, he name trustv to hym seuyn knyghtes of hys owne kyn, than that ho moost knights near. truste to har stalwardnesse, & drowen ham on the on halfe of the hylle, as negght as thay might leppen upon har stedes, with 16 sheldes about har nekkes, & speres an-hond; & for a coste, pleneden & prykkeden har hors ayeyn other, so that, yn whych halue the parlement turned, throught encheson of such pley thay myght be fonden Redy. Roryk & hugh helden har parlement 20 of many thynge; bot of nothynge thay myght nat accord, & begyn to departe a wrethe. The traytour Roryk had yn hys thoght be O'Rourke treachertrayson bat he hadde I-purueyed. he made semblant, & draw hym ously atby-halues as for to pyssen, & made tokens to hys men that thay 24 tacks De Laci. hastely shold come to hym. Whan he thys hadde I-done, he turned ayeyne wyth hys sparth an hegh, hys wysage al blak with Moryce was Iwarned of hys neueu, of the ful snel goynge. Maurice Fitzvysyon that he sawe; stod, & beheld al thys. he hent out be 28 Gerald swerd, & cryed vpon hugh, & mynyed hym, & dyd hym-self aveyne warns De Laci, the traytour, for to defend hym. The traytour ran to hugh, hym for to smyte; har latymer yed betwene hym & the dynt; & he smote hym of the oon arme, fast by the sholdre. Moryce stode, & 32 who is saved by campled wyth hys swerd ayeyne the sparthe, & lowd cryed to har his interpreter, and men. & ar hugh myght be yn any state, hym-self for to helpe, [|| Fol. 15 through grete hastynge, he felle twys || abak; & vnnethe, through b.] escapes helpe of Moryce, that hym defendet thus, Hugh escaped wyth hys 36 alive.

Slepe that he Saw a mych flote of wylde Swyn yernynge vpon Hugh and Morice; and a bore amonge ham, mych and grymly horribilem ouer al other, come to ham, and wyth his tuskys wolde have prae aliis. smytten ham Slavn, yf he boldely ne had come betwene, and Slayne * the Boore, and Holpyd Hame Both. On the morrow, [*Fol. 14 thay Went to the Place ther the Parlement was sette, at a place that Sedyn is callid "Rorike-is hille." Fryste thay heldyn har Parlement from fere, by messageres goynge betwen; ther-aftyr thay toke Surtey, and othis Sware, and comyn to-giddyr aftyrward. Natheles fewe, and ylyke many on every syde, and thay vnwepenyd,but the on, her Swerdys; the othyr, her Sparthes,-and her felle- praeter chip in euery syde fere fro ham. Gryffyn, that wyth Moryce come to hinc gla-dios tunthe Parlement, was ful thoghtful of the vysion that he Saw; he tum, inde secures. name to hym Sewyn knyghtis of his owyn kyn, tham that he most truste to har bolthenys, and drowen ham on the one halfe of the hille / as neve as thay myght, Leppen vpon har stedes, with sheldis about har nekkes, and Sperres in honde, and for oo ex indus-Purpos pleydyn and prikkedyn in the felde ayeyne othyr, So that tria torna-mentis in what syde the Parlement turnedyn, throgh encheyson of Suche Gallicis Pley, thay myght be foundyn redy. Rourik and Hugh kepten har faciebant Parlement of many thyngis; but in nothynge thay myght acorde, and begon to de-Pert, as in wrethe. The traytoure Rourik had in his thoght / the trayson that he hadd Purueyed: he made semblant, and drow hym be-sydis as forto Pissyn, and made tokyn simulans to his men that thay hastely sholde come to hym. Whan he this ad min-gendum. had done, he turned ayeyne with his sparth an hey, his face al vultu blake with ful snel goynge. Morice was warnyd of his eme by the pallido. vysyon that he sawe; stode, and be-helde al this. he toke out his Swerde, and cried vpon Hugh, and mynyd hym, and did hym- prae-Selfe agayn the traytoure, forto defende hym. The traytoure rane suscitants. agayn hugh, hym forto smyte. har latymer yed betwen hym and viri interpretis . . . the stroke; and he smote of hym the oone harme of, fast by the letali shuldyr. Morice stode, and camplid with his Swerde ayene the vulnere brachium Sparthe¹, and loude cried to har men. And ar hugh myght be amputarit. ¹ contra in any state², hym-Selfe forto helpe, through grete hastynge, he fel securim twies a-bac; and vnneth, through helpe of Morice, that hym defendid gladio confligebat.

² staste, MS.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XXXI-II). [DUBL. MS.

A.D. 1172. lyf. The whyll that thys was, Rorykes men ful many come to hys clepynge, out of dales & wodes about, yernynge to ham wyth speres & with sparthes, for to brynge hugh & Moryce out of dawes. Than Gryffyn & hys felewes comen yernynge vp on har 4 hors styffly to ham. be traytour saw ham comynge, & lep to hors O'Rourke that to hym was broght, & wold do hym to flyght; & as he lepe, vp come Gryffyn, & wyth hys spere smote hym & hys hors throghis slain by Maurice out, & slowe hem bothe. Wyth hym wer I-slayne pay that, yn so 8 Fitz-Gerald. mych perylle, the hors hym broght; & hy[s] heed I-smytten of, & yn-to england ber-after to the kynge I-sent ; & al hys men yn-to al the feldes dyscomfyte, & I-slawe ful many. Rolf, Robertes sone fytz Stephen, was the other stalwardthest that days yn the felde ¹. I 2

[CHAPTER XXXI.]

[Fol.16a.] Morice was a mane ful wyrshypful & chamfaste; vysage wel colowred; becomlyche; lytel of body, sumdele more Maurice pan lytel, & lasse than metlych. of hert, & body, wel I-thewed; Gerald nothynge hauteyne. of k[i]ndly goodnes, he was good; & leuer 16 described. hym was be good, than be sey good; hys maner was euer-more to He spoke hold hym methelyche. man of short spech & lytel, bot of fay? wordes, as he that more hadde yn hert than yn mouth, more of wytte & reyson pan of spech. 2 Nat forthy3, whan tyme was, & nede 20 to sp[e]ken, to good reyson forth brynge,—as lettred as he was, as wytty he was². In thynge that byfell to bataylle, swyth hardy, was very bold, but & vnnethes of stalwarthnesse any was hys bettre; natheles, of not foolhardy, perille to take, he was nat to hastyf ne to fool-hardy. bot as he was 24 thus, & of purueaunce thynge to begynne, Also he was stronge & was strong stydfast yn thynge Whan he hyt hadde begune. he was sobre, wel and sted-I-thewed & chaste, lawful, & stydfast, without blame.

A.D. 1173.

fast.

Fitz-

little,

In April, Henry II's three sons,

[CHAPTER XXXII.]

In the next auril ther-after, be yonger kynge henry, be 28 kynges sone, the lyddernysse that he hadde I-thoght to hys

¹ The twelve lines on the back of fol. 15, 'a bak (p. 74, at foot) . . . felde,' were first written by mistake on fol. 16, but afterwards struck out.

²⁻² Et tamen, cum sermonem res exigebat, ad sententiam dicendam sicut serus, sic scientissimus. - Op. v. 297. ³? MS. Rat fortly.

RAWL. MS. MAURICE FITZ-GERALD DESCRIBED AND PRAISD.

thus, Escapid wyth his lyfe. the whyle that this was, Rourik his A.D. 1172. men, ful many, come to his callynge, out of dalis and woddis about, rynnynge to ham with Speres and Sparthes, forto berew hugh and cum jaculis Morice the lyfe. Than gryffyn and his fellouys come rynnynge binis et securilus vpon har hors styfly to ham. the traytoure Saw ham comynge, amplis. and lep to hors that to hym was broght, and wolde do hym to flyght / And as he lep, vp come gryffyn, and wyth his spere smote hym and his hors throught-out, and slayne them both. wyth cum ipso, hym were Slayn thay that, in so myche Peril, the hors hym broght / $\frac{tribus ejus}{dem fami-}$ and his hed Smytten of / and into England theraftyr to the liaribus. kynge hit sende; and al his men into al the feldis discomfite, and Slayn ful many / Rolfe, Robert-is Sone, fiz-Steuyñ, was the othyr boldyste that day in the felde.

[CHAPTER XXXI.]

VOrice was a man ful wyrchipphul and shamefaste; 'vysage Capitulum wel colorid'; becomlych; lytil of body, sume-whate more xxxjm. Descripcio than lytel and lasse than metlych. of herte and body, wel the wed; Maurici fiznothynge couetynge. of * Kyndely goodnes, He was good 1; ande geraud. Lever hit Was to Hym to Be good, than to Be sayde good. his a.] maner was euer-more to holde hym methelyche. man of Shorte Speche and lytyll, but of Fayre wordis, as he that more had in plus pecherte than in mouthe, more of witte and Reyson than of speche. bens quam Nat forthy, whan tyme was, and nede to Spekyn, to good reyson oris, plus, forth brynge,—as letterid as he was, as witty he was. In thynge that quam orabefel to battayl, Swyth hardy. But as he was thus, and of *tionis, plus* sapientiae Purueyance, thynge to begyn, Also he was stronge and stydfast quam eloin thynge whan he hit hadd begonne. ²he was sobyr, wel condicionyd and chaste, lawful and stidfaste, wyth-out blame² /

[CHAPTER XXXII.]

IN the nexte Aurel ther-aftyr, the yongyr kynge henry, the Capitulum kynges Sonne, the Wickidnys that he had thoght to his xxxijm. fadyr done / nolde no longyr helle, wyth his two bretheryn that

¹⁻¹ vultu colorato, decentique; mediocri quadam modicitate, tam mediocribus minor, quam modicis major; vir tam animo quam corpore modificato, nec illo elato, nec hoc dilutato ; innata vir bonitate bonus.-Op. v. 297.

²⁻² Vir sobrius, modestus et castus ; stabilis, firmus atque fidelis.--Ibid.

[*Fol. 15

rationis quentiae.

A.D. 1173.

Henry, Richard and Geoffrey, get French help, and rebel.

Henry II

of his men from Irecome to him at Rouen. [† Fol. 16 b.] He commits Ireland to Reimund Fitz-Gerald.

hearing of the bellion, turn against Henry II.

The English demand to be put under Reimund Fitz-Gerald. They invade Offaly, in Leinster,

A.D. 1173. fadyr nold no lenger hellen; with hys twey bretheren-that vs to wytte, the Erl of peytou & the erl of brytayn 1-wenten to the kynge of ffraunce, whose doghter he hadde I-spoused, & purchased helpe of hym for to werr vpon hys fadyr. The encheson wher-for 4 hyt was, Mayster Geraud ne telleth nat, ne I ne can nat sey; bot many hegh & Ryche men he hadde to consaylle & to helpe, both of England & of beyond the see; many openly & wel; most, illy & dernely. The old kynge, the yonger kynges fadyr, for the fortune 8 that hym come to on euery halue so vnwarly, was ful sorowful. draws most I Nathales, through gret sleight & hegh herth, he made fay? semblant, & heped to god; & on every syde that he myght, yn al maner he land. They besoght help. He sent messagers vnto Irland, & mad come ouer 12 to hym the meste parte of the knyghtes & of the good meygne bat he ther hadde I-lefte. Thay come to hym at the cyte of Ruem, & he bethogh hym that + hyt was pervlle to leue har lond vnkepet; ther he betoke be Erl Rychard al be lond to kepe, & sette to hym 16 Reymond as hys other hand; ffor the erl for-soke al out & out, bat Earl Striguil and he that kepynge wold nat receyue, bot yf he hadde Reymond with hym for to helpe.

[CHAPTER XXXIII.]

Most Irish, The Erle [&] Reymond, with har power, wentten yn-to 20 Irland; &, for the folk of yrland hade y-hard of the mych Princes' re- stryff that was betwene the kynge & hys sonnys be-yent the see,as folk bat styddefast ys yn vnstedfastnesse, & lawfully ham holt to vnlawfulnesse,---the most parte of the prynces of be lond, ayeyn 24 har trouth I-found, bay turned ayeyn-to the kynge. The erl hadde sone I-spend the traysour that he broght ouer wyth hym; & whan the meygne lacked spendynge, & nat spedden yn prayes takynge vnder heruy, that was conestable ouer the meygne, & euer hadde 28 enuy to Reymond, Thay wented ham to the erl comynly by one accorde, & sey hym wel, that 'bot yf he wold sete Reymond ouer ham, thay wold leue hym euerychone, & wend yn-to england; oper, that wel wors was, thay wold turnet to har enemyes aveyns har 32 heed.' As the meygne wold, Reymond was I-sette ouer ham; thay name than hert to ham, & wenten vpon the Ofolanes yn the dees,

¹ Pictaviae scilicet et Britanniae comitibus.-Op. v. 297-8.

RAWL. MS. REBELLION OF HENRY II'S THREE SONS, & THE IRISH.

is to Say, the Erle of Peytou and the Erle of Brytayn, wentyn A.D. 1173. to the kynge of Fraunce, whose doghtyr he had Spousid, and ad Lodovicum. Purchasid helpe of hym forto were vpon his fadyr. The encheyson Francorum wherfore hit was, Maystyr Geraud ne tellyth not / ne I ne can regem. not say; but many hey men he hade to consayl and to helpe, both of England and of beyonte see; many opynly and wel; multo [more] falthyr pryuely. The olde kynge, the yongyr kynges fadyr, occulte for the fortvne that to hym was fal on every syde so vnwyttyngly, habens, et fautores. was ful Sorroful. Neuer-the-las, by grete Sotylte and hey herte, he made fayre semblante, and trystid to god; and on every syde that he myght, in al maner he besoght helpe. he sende messageres into Irland, and made come ouer to hym the meste Parte of the knyghtes and of the good mennye that he ther lefte. Thay come to hym at the Cite of Ruem. and he be-thoght hym that hit was ad urbem Peril to leue har londe vnkepte : ther he be-toke the Erle Richard, *Rothoma-gensem.* al the londe to kepe, and sette to hym Reymonde as his othyr custodiam illam sushande; For the Erle forsoke out and out, that he that kepynge cipere wolde not rescewe, but yf he hadde Reymond wyth hym, hym omnino renuerat. forto helpe.

[CHAPTER XXXIII.]

The Erle and Reymond, with har men, wentyn Into Capitulum Irland; and, for pe Pepil of Irland had herde of the grette xxxiij^m. stryfe that was betwene the kyng and his Sonnes be-yount the See, -as Pepyl that stydfast is in vnstydfastnes, and lawfully ham gens sola holde to vnlawfulnes,-the most Part of the Pryncis of the londe, inconagayñ har trouth y-founde, thay turned agayn the kynge. The stantia. Erle had spende the tresoure that he broght ouer wyth hym; and deficienwhan the fellochipe lackid spendynge, and not Speddyn in Prayes- tibus quoque takynge, Vndyr heruey, that was constabil ouer the menny, and stipendiis. euer had envy to Reymond; Thay wenten ham to the Erle comynly by oone acorde, and sayde to hym wel, 'but that he wolde sette Reymonde ouer ham, thay wolde lewe hym euerichone, and wende Into Englande; othyr, that wel wors was, thay wolde turne to har enemys agaynes hame' / And as the menny desyrid, Reymonde was sette ouer hame. thay take then herte to ham, in Offelanos and wenten vp-on the Ofelanys in the desesses, and toke grette insur-

A.D. 1173. & name grett prayes, arrayed ham nobly wyth hors & wepne.

Lismore. &c., and take much prey.

The

ford.

Dermot daren't

cattle.

into a

wood.

a.]

From thens thay wentten to lysmore, & the cyte, & al be contre about, robbeden & prayeden, & by the see wey senten many grete praves to Watyrford ; & of pylfre & thynge that thay namen, thay 4 fylled .xiij. far costes that weren I-come fro Waterford yn-to the hauen of dongaruame. As thay wer wynd abydynge, ther come English fleet fight a be men of Cork from by west, by the see, yn xxxij shyppys, & many Cork fleet, men ther-In, for to take thay other. Ther was the fyght styffely 8 I-veuen, of these twey fletes yn the see: That oon assaylled that other grymlych with stones & with sparthes; the other weren welle I-wepned, & with-stode styffly with arblastes & with bowes. rout it, and At be end, thay of Corke weren descomfyted & ouer-come; her 12 killitsmen, shyppys I-take; her men I-slawe, & I-caste yn the see. Adam de and take their prizes herford & phylep de Wellsse, that weren I-sette ouer thay yongto Waterlynges, with mo shyppes & grete beyetes of wepne & of pylfre, to Watyrford wenten with grete yoye. Reymond herd speke of thys 16 Reimund marches, fight, & tythynges to hym come; he toke with hym xx^{ti} knyghtes & an hundreth bowmen, & went by the see wey thederward. Than come to hym tythynges bat dermot, be prynce of desmond, was, with myche hostes, comen to lysmore, to helpe ham of Cork. 20 Reymond went hym thederward. De prynce that herd, & turned aveyne, & durst hym nat abyde. And Reymond went forther yn-to face him. the contrey, robbed & prayed, so that he hadde with hym at hys Reimund has 4,000 turny [n] ge ave toward Watyrford, four thousand kyne; & as thay 24 wer comynge || by narow weyes wyth har praye, come the Ireshe-[|| Fol. 17 men of be contray, & henten a party of har kyne, & wenten al The Irish guvtten with ham to wodde. be crye arose, & Reymond¹ (as man take some. that ever was formost redy) went aftyr, with on privisant man an 28 hors wyth hym; come to the woldes ense², ther the theues He pursues them weren an hydynge. Whan he hadde I-faylled of be preye, & wolde turne ayeyne, hys felewes folyly entyced hym for to wende yn-to be wodde, & he so dydde. Whan thay weren wel with-yn, 32

> ¹ The Latin text gives this exploit to Meiler : Gir. Cambr. Op. v. 309-10, 'et in primis Meilerius, ut erat praeceps semper et probus, satellite quodam comitatus equestri, praedones usque ad silvae condensa est persecutus.'

² Ends.

RAWL. MS. THE ENGLISH FLEET BEATS THE CORK ONE.

Prayes arrayed ham nobely with hors and wepyñ. From thens A.D. 1173. thay wentyn to lysmore; * and the Cite and the contrey about, [*Fol. 15 b.] robbodyn and preedyn, and, By the See-wey, Sendyne many gret prayis to waterford; and of pilfre and of thynge that thay toke, thay fillid xiijo. farcostes that weryn come from watyrford into naviculas the havyn of doun-garvan. As thay were wynde abydynge ther, tredecim. come the men of Corke from be weste, by the See, in xxxijti. Shippis, and many men therin, forto take the othyr. ther was the fyght bellicosis fressely yewyn of this two flittes in the See. That oone assaylid refertae viris. the othyr grymly with stones and with Sparthis; the othyr wer wel wepenyd, and wythstod styfly with arblastes and with bowes 1. At the Ende, thay of Corke weryn dyscomfyted and ouer-come; Her shippis take, her men slavne, and caste Into the See. Adam de herforde and Philippe² the wellsshe, that weryn sette ouer thay yonglynges, with mo shippes and gret begetes of wepyn cum armis and of Pylfre, to Watyrford wentyn with gret Ioy. Reymond^{et oneribus.} herde speke of this fight, and tythynges to hym come: he toke with hym xxti. knyghtes and an hundrid bowmen, and went by per marithe see-way thedyrwarde. Than com to hym tythyngis that viam. Dermot, the prince of desmonde, was with myche hostys comyn to lysmore, to helpe ham of Corke. Reymonde wentyn hym thedyrward! the prince that herde, and turned agayn, and durst hym not abyde. And Reymonde wente Ferdyr Into the³ contrey, robbid and Prayed, So that he hadd with hym at his turnynge agayn toward watyrford, iiije. Mt. kyne. and as thay were comynge by naroweis with har Pray, come the Iryssh-men of the contray, ad silvas and tokyn a party of har kyne, and wentyn al quyte with ham to de plano. wodde. the cry aros, and Reymond, as man that euer was formyst redye, went aftyr, with one pryuisant man an hors with hym, come to the woddys syd ther the thewis were an-hydynge. Whan he had falid of the pray, and wolde have turne agayne, his fellowis folely juvene in-Enticed hym forto wende into the wodd; and he so dide. Whan stigante temerario

³ the the, MS.

G

¹ dum isti lapidibus et securis acriter impetunt, illi vero, tam sagittis quam laminis ferreis quibus abundabant, promptissime resistunt.—Op. v. 309.

² Philpippe, MS.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XXXIV). [DUBL. MS.

A.D. attackt, but cuts his way thro' his foes.

the Irysshe-men rysse to ham on every halue, & leyd ham on, Reimund is & anoom-ryght the yonge man was al to-hakked to-for hym; he yarne to snellych for to socur hym, & was assaylled on every halue; & he, as man, hent out the swerd & leyd on about hym, 4 & smot of that man the hond, pat other the arme, be bryd the heede by be sholdres; thus he opened hym the wey, & come out to hys men, & broght twey sparthes fast on hys sheld, & thre on hys hors 1; bot all hool & sound, & harmeles of body, he escaped. 8

A.D. 1174.

Reimund goes to Wales. Hervey is made Constable.

Donnell O'Brien slaughters the Dublin men.

The Irish massacre the English.

[CHAPTER XXXIV.]

Whan thys was y-done, & the meygne was noblych arrayed both byl ond & eke by watyr, come tythynges to Reymond, that hys fadyr Wyllyam fytz Geraud was dede. Reymond went ouere yn-to Walys, to take seysyne yn hys fadyr 12 landys; & heruy was the whyle eft² y-made conestable of be meygne: he wold fayne entremette hym to do some thynge the whyle that Reymond was out of londe, & made the Erl & the meyne wend to Cassell for to weren yn Monestre; he sent eke 16 after the meyne of dyuelyn to come to ham. And as thay come through Ossery, & laye a night in a place that thay supposed to be al syker, Obreen, the kynge of thomone, was syker, & awayted har comynge by good spies. he aroos with mych folk vpon hem 20 erly a day yn the mcrowenynge, & smot vpon ham vnwyttyngly, & slogh four knyghtes that weren ouer ham, & four hundret ostmen. Whan the tythynges her-of come to the Erl, he turned ayeyne to Waterford with mych shame, & held hym thar as man 24 that was beseget, that he cam nat fro thennes. And for thys aduentur, the folk of Irland wyth oo hert al to-gyddre aresen vpon the englysshe, & slow ham yn-to al ther thay myght ham fynd. The kynge of Connaght come eke ouer the shynen yn-to Myd, 28 & fond al pe castels wast & voyde; he brant & keste ham adoun to ground, tyl he come ryght to dyuelyn. The Erl saw pat he was narow by-ladde: by consaylle of bys men, as the last remedy of lyue, he sent hys lettres to Reymond ouer yn-to Walys, yn these 32

¹ tres secures Hibernicas in equo confixas, duasque in clipeo portans.-Gir. ² MS. est. Camb. Op. v. 310.

thay wer with-In the Irysh-men rysse to ham on euery halue and 1173-4. leyde on ham, and anoone the yonge man was al to-hackid to-for hym. He rane forto socoure hym, and was assaylid on every syde. And he, as man, toke out his Swerde, and leyde on aboute hym, and exserto Smote of, that man the honde, that othyr the harme, the thyrde the $\frac{gladio}{viam \ sibi}$ hede by the sholdris; thus he oppenyd the wey, and come out to vir animosùs virihis men, and broght two Spares faste on his shelde, and thre on his bus aperuit. hors; but al holde and Sounde and harmeles of body he Escapid.

[CHAPTER XXXIV.]

A.D. 1174.

Whan this was done, and the meyne was nobely arrayed Capitulum both by londe and also by watyr / come thythyngis to xxxiiij^m. Reymonde, that his Fadyr willam fiz-geraude was dede. Reymond wente ouer into Walis, to take seysyne in his Fadyr landis; And heruey that tyme was made constabil of the meny. he wolde fayn aliquid entremitte hym to done sumthynge, the whyle that Reymonde agere vidercturs was out of londe; and made the Erle and meny wende to cassell forto werryn in monestre. He sende also aftyr the meny of deuelyn to come to ham. And As thay come through Ossory, and lay a-nyght in a place that thay demyd to be al Sure, Obreen, the kynge of Thomonde, was Sure, and awayted hare * comynge By good Spies. He aroose, with mych Pepil, vppon [*Fol. 16 Hame, erly a day in the mornynge, and Smote vppon ham vn-a.] wittyngly, and killid iiije. knyghtis and weryn ouer hame, and qui aliis CCCC men. Whan the thythynges herof come to the Erle, he pracerant. turned agayne to Watyrford with mych shame, and helde hym ther as man that was besegid, that he came not fro thennes. And for this aduenture, the Pepil of Irland with oo herte al-unanimiter to-giddyr arysen vpon the Englysh, and Slowen ham in al places insurgunt. that thay ham myght fynde // The kynge of Connaght come also ouer the shynnyñ into Myth, and found al the Castelis waste and woyde. he braunt and keste ham doune to grounde, til he come ryght to Deuelyn. The Erle Saw that he was narrow bylad : by in areto consail of his men, as the laste remedy of lyue, he sende his $j_{um}^{jam posi-}$ lettres to Reymond, ouer into Walis, in thes wordis: "As rath as

83

A.D.

Striguil asks Reimund's help, and promises him his sister Basile.

[||Fol. 17 b.] Reimund at Wexford,

Striguil safe from

The Irish in Waterford slav there.

Striguil's sister Basilia weds Reimund.

King O'Conor destroys all Meath. Reimund marches after him.

A.D. 1174. wordes: "As rathe as thou hast I-sey these lettres, ne leue nat to come to socour vs wyth good myght: & thy desyr of basyle, my sustre, lawfully for to spouse, anone at by comynge, wythout faylle thou shalt haue." Whan Reymond hadde thys I-herd, both for the 4 maydnes loue pat he so longe hadde desyred, & for to proue hys stalwardnesse, & socour hys lord yn hys mychele nede, wyth Meyler, hys emes sone, he dyght hym al bat he myght yn such hast, so that he hadde thretty || knyghtes of hys owne kyn, & thre hundert 8 bowmen, the choyse of al Wales : he put hym to saylle, & arryued at sails, lands Weysford yn fyftene shyppes. That same tyme, the men of Weysford hadden I-purueyed ham to vndo al be englysshe, wher-so me myght ham fynde. Whan thay sawe the shyppes comynge yn be hauyd, & 12 baneres that thay wel knowe; proght pat comynge so fersly, that and brings trayson was y-lefte; & anoon Reymond went wyth hys men to Waterford, & broght thens the Erl stalwarthly to Weysford. Waterford. ffresel, that was keper of Waterford, went after the Erl by be 16 water of Sur, yn botys with hys men; &, as pay wer yn the watyr, the lydder gyddes that hym shold lode 1, slowe hy[m] & al hys men. & turned ayeyne to the Cyte, & gadered ham to-gedder al be Irysshe-men, & smyt vpon be englesshe, & slowe al that thay 20 myght fynd yn hous & yn wey, men & wommen, yonge & old, the English without any sparynge, saue thay that escaped yn-to Rathevyldestour; & through ham was the toun I-saued, tyl the traytours per-after come to pees, & euer ther-after the lasse beleued & loued. 24 Reymond, whan he hadde thys I-se[u]yd the Erl, he miniyed the Erl of hys beheste. The Erl sent anoon to dyuelyn aftyr hys suster, and went neuer from Weysford, fort sho was with mych wyrshyppe I-spoused to Reymond. Whan he was I-spoused, & 28 al be day was Ihold yn yoy, gladnesse, & mych plente of mete & drynke, & the nyght aftyr, yn delytes of chambre as ham beste lyked, came tythynges that Oconghour, kynge of Connaght, hadde I-destrued al myght, & was I-come wyth myche power 32 yn-to the contrey of dyuelyn. Reymond was nat slowe, nether for love of hys fayr wyf ne for the moche feste, bot anoon a morowe he toke hys men wyth hym, & went toward dyuelyn."

¹ for lede.

ye have sey thes lettres, ne lette not to come to socoure vs with A.D. 1174. good myght: and youre desyre of Basyle my Sustre, lawefully forto et deside-rium tuum, Spouse, anone at youre comynge, with-out fayl ye shall have" // in Basilia sorore mea Whan Reymond hadd this herde, both for the maydes lowe that he *tibi* so longe had desiryd, and forto prow his myght, and socoure his legitime copulanda. lorde in his mychel nede, with Meyler, his emys sone, he dight hym al that he myght in such haste, so that he myght have / and hadde xxx^{ti}. knyghtes of his owyn kyne, and CCC bowmen, the coyse de electa of al Walis. he putte hym to sayle, and arryued at Weysforde in Kambriae juventute. xy. shippis. that same tyme, be men of Weysforde hadd Purveyed ham to vndo al the Englysh, wherso thay myght ham fynde. Whan thay Saue the chippis comynge Into hawyn, and baneres that thay wel knew; throw that comynge So Fresly, that trayson adventu tam subito. was lefte; and anoone Reymonde went wyth his men to watyrforde. and broght thens the erle boldely to Weysforde. Fresell, that was Fretellus, keper of watyrforde, wente by the watyr of Sure in botis with his custos. men; and, as they were in the watyr, the liddyr gides that hym ab iniquis Sholde lede, slayñe hym and al his men, and turned agayn to the Ostmannis. Cite, and gaddrid ham to-geddyr al the Irysh-men, and smyte vpon the Englysh-men, and slayne al thay that thay myght fynde in hous, in wey, men and women, yonge and olde, with-out any in plateis sparynge, Saue thay that Escapid into Rathevyldestoure ; and et domibus. through ham was the touñe Sawid, tyl the traytorys ther-aftyr come to Pees, and euer ther-aftyr the lasse belewid and lowid. / Reymond, when he hadd thus I-Sawid the Erle, he mynyed the Erle of his promes. the erle sende anoone to deuelyn aftyr his revocatam suster; and Wente neuer frome Weysforde till that she was, with Basiliam, myche wyrchipp, Spousid to Reymonde. Whan he was spousid, and al the day was holde in Ioy and gladnys, and mych Plente of mette and drynke, and the nyght aftyr in delytes of chambyr, in thalami as ham beste plesyde / Came tythyngis that o-conghoure, kynge of deliciis nocte con-Connaght, hadd destrued al Myth, and was come with grete hoste sumpta. into the contrey of Deuelyn. Reymond was not Slow, nethyr for nec vino, lowe of his fayre wyffe, ne * for the moche feste; But amorrow He nec venere, retardatur. O-con- [*Fol. 16 b.] toke His men With Hym, and Went towarde Deuelyn.

O'Conor retires. Reimund rebuilds his restores peace.

> A.D. 1173-4.

Henry II livd in strife.

The worst was, that Bodyguard his rebel sons.

all fights,

[||Fol. 18 a.]

by God's help.

His sons

obliged to make peace (a

A.D. 1174. Oconghou? hadde per-to-forme assayed hys mayne, y-douted hym the more; he ne abode nat wyth hym, bot was gladde to take homward. Reymond let restore & arere that was destrued through reputids his pe werr, & fale castels ryght vp, & broght yn-to rather state : 4 & for dred of hym, the lond wax yn good pees a good whyle, that none Iresshe-man ne durst hym styrre, wer to begynne.

[CHAPTER XXXV.]

This while the kynge was yn mych stryf, wel two yer, ayeyn hys thre sonnes & har allyes, both yn englande 8 & yn normandy & garioigne; & so was I-peyned with trauaylle yn wepne & wakynge nyght & day, that no man ne myght more. Bot, for ne wors fomanne may be, pan thay that man moste was, that trusted trusteth to, o thynge was, that meste tene hym dydde : that be 12 knyghtes that he hadde I-chose, hys body to kepe, yn whose deserted to hondes hys lyf & hys deth he be-taght, for the moste dele enery nyght wenten to hys sones pryuely; so that, whan the kynge oft-tymes asked aftyr ham, thay war nat I-founde. Natheles, the 16 bataylle that was of so dotous begynnyge, hadde so good endynge that, for the vnryght that hys sonnes hym dedde so vnk[i]ndely, But he won hyt semete bettre tha[t] he soght by power of god, than by erthly power; ffor yn al places, the ouerhand was hys. And as hyt semete 20 fyrste that hyt was for wreth of seynth Thomas-es deth that bat vnhape hym || betydde, Also hyt semed per-aftyr, Whan he hadde I-done asseth to holy chyrche, & pees made wyth the holy martyr, wyth teres & repentaunce of herte, al hys tene, 24 throught goodys helpe, hym turned to gladnesse: ffor aftyr the mych tene & trayson bat he hadde Itholled al two yer, at be laste was be bataylle I-smytten, at the whych, betwen the twey ostes, Ther war the kynges sonnes dyscomfyt, progh Rauf de 28 vere routed, and Glanuyl, that was mayster of be kynges hoste. Ther was I-take be kynge of scotland, & be erl of shestre, & be erl of leycestre, & so fele gret men, bothe of england & of beyent see, that vnnethe me fond prisons to ham. Ther, aftyr al be trauayl bat be kynge 32 hadde, & be enuy, & be costes al two yer, come be sonnes to be fadyres pees, & maden asseth, falsly, as hyt was per-afty? wel false one). Ishewed yn deede. Of pus vntrowth, spake Merlyn yn hys

RAWL. MS.] HENRY II'S TROUBLE WITH HIS SONS.

ghoure had thertofor assayed his meny, and douted hym the more. A.D. 1174. he wolde not abyde hym, but was glade to take homwarde. et castris Reymonde lette restore and arere that was destrued by the werre; dirutis... And fale casteles ryght vpe, and broght into radyr state. and for jam reparatis et in dred of hym, the londe wax in good pees a goode whyle, that none statum Irysh-man ne durst hym not styre, werre to begynne.

[CHAPTER XXXV.]

This whyle the kynge was in myche stryfe, wel two yere, 1173-4. agayn his Sonnes and har allience, both in Englande and in Capitulum xxxv^m. Normandy, and gascoygne; and So was peyned with trawail in wepyn, nyght and day, that no man ne myght more. But, for no wors enemy may none be, than thay that a man trusteth moste to, O thynge was, that most angyr hym didd : that the knyghtes that he illi guoque hadd chose his body to kepe, in Whos handis his lyfe and his deth quos cuhe betoke, for the mor Party, every nyght wentyn to his Sones sibi milites elegerat. priuely; So that, whan the kynge ofte-tymys askyd aftyr hame, thay were not founde. Natheles, the battayll that was of So doutos begynnynge, hadd So good Endynge that, for the vnryght that his Sones hym didde so vnkyndely, hit Semyd bettyr that he foght by Powere of god, than by Erthely Powere. For in al Placys, the ouerhande was his. And as hit Semyd fryst, that hit was for wrethe of Seynte Thomas-es deth that that vnhape hym befell, Also hit semyd ther-aftyr, whan he hadd done asseth to holy churche, and pees made with the hooly martyr, with terys and repentaunce of propitiante nobili herte, al his tene (by godys helpe) hym turned to gladnys. For martyre aftyr the mych tene and trayson that he hadd sufferid al two yere, Thoma, lacrimis et At the laste, was the battayl Smytten, at the whyche, be-twen the devotione two hostys, Ther were the kynges Sonnes dyscomfyte, by Ralfe de cato. Glanvil, that was Maystyr of the kynges hoste. Ther was take the kynge of Scotlande, and the Erle of Chestre, and the Erle of levcestre, and So many grete men, both of England and of beyonte See, that vnneth thay found prisonys to ham. Ther, aftyr al the trauail that the kynge hadde, and the Envy, and the costys al two umbratiliyere, come the Sonnes to the faderis Pees, and madyn asseth, falsly, quam vera as hit was ther-aftyr wel Shewid in dede. Of this vntrouth, Spake concordia.

A.D.

prophecyes, & seyde: "The sonnes shullen agylte ayeyn be fady? Merlin of Celidon's prophecy of for hys gyltes, & the rather gylte shal be encheson of be gyltes the Rebel- pat after shullen comen. The sonnes shullen aryse vpon be fadyr; lion of Henry II's & for to awreke hys felonye aveyne be wombe, the tharmes shal 4 sons. swer ham togydder. In the man of blode, the blode shall arvse, & wanhoply shal hys pynsynge be, tyl that scotland be penaunce of hys pylgrymage bewepe."

[CHAPTER XXXVI.]

Henry II had grey eyes, a red face,

and a big belly, tho, to lessen it. he'd hardly rest his body. All day he was out hunting, and trotter;

stood.

man, he

The kynge henry the other, was ' a man saunrede, roune 8 heed, & round grey eghend; roghly lokynge, & rede yn wreth; vysage rede bernynge, grete speche, neke somdel logh of be sholdres, brest thyk, armes staluarthe, of flesshy body; &, more of kynde than of glotony, grete of wombe; for he was, as to prynce 12 belongeth, [of] mete, & of drynke ful meen & for-berynge²; &, for to a-quenche that gretnesse, he put hymself to ful mych trauaylle, that wnneth he lete hys body have env reste, ether by day other by nyght; ffor, wynter, & somer, he arose euer more yn the dawn- 16 ynge, & herd fyrst hys seruyce of holy chyrch; ther-aftyr, most rode a high what al be day he wold ben out, other wyth houndes other wyth hawkes, for yn thay two thynges he delyted hym swyth mych wythal; & vnnethe he wold ryde any amblynge hors, bot myche 20 trottynge hors, for to trauavlle hys body the more. Aftyr al hys trauaylle a-day, vnnethe he lete hys body haue a lytell reste for to syte to hys mete the whyle that he eete; & anoon aftyr mete, at night he & namely aftyr sopper, anoon he wold aryse & stonde, & so dryue 24 forth al be meste parte of the nyght, so that al be court was When once oft ennyede ther-of. be man that he ones yn lych beheld, euer eft he'd seen a he hadde knowleche of hym; & dynge pat he hadde ones herd,

knew him euer eft he hyt wold vnderstond; be man that he ones hated, 28 again. vnnethe he wold euer eft 3 loue; & man that he ones loued, vnneth

> ¹ vir subrufus, caesius (= lentiginosus), amplo capite et rotundo, oculis glaucis, ad iram torvis, et rubore suffusis, facie ignea, voce quassa, collo ab humeris aliquantulum demisso ... corpore carnoso, et naturae magis quam gulae vitio, citra tumorem enormem et torporem omnem, moderata quadam immoderantia ventre praeamplo. Gir. Cambr. Op. v. 302.

> ² Erat enim cibo potuque modestus ac sobrius; et parcimoniae, quoad principi licuit, per omnia datus. Gir. Cambr. Op. v. 302. ³ MS. est.

RAWL. MS.] DESCRIPTION OF KING HENRY II.

merlynge in his prophesies, and Sayde : "The Sonnes shullyn agylte agayn the Fadyr for his gyltes ; and the radyr gylte shall be encheyson of the gyltes that aftyr shullyn come. The Sones shall aryse vpon the fadyr; and forto aw[r]eke his felony agayne the wombe, the *et ob scele*tharmes shal Swere ham to-giddyr. In the man of blode, the blode tam inshal aryse; and wanhoply shal his Pynsynge be¹, til that Scotland ventremviscera conjurabunt.

[CHAPTER XXXVI.]

The kynge henry the othyr, was a man same rede, roune Capitulum hede, and rounde grey eyyn; row lokynge, and rede in wreth; xxxvjm. Descripcio Visage rede, brennynge; * grete Speche; neke somdel shorte of the Henrici Soldrys, breste thyke, of fleschy Body; ande, more of kynde, than of [*Fol. 17 glotony, gret of wombe; for he was, as to prynce belongyth, of a] mete and of drynke ful meen and for-berynge; and forto aquenche that gretnes, he put hym-Selfe to ful mych trauayl,² that vnneth he *immo*-For derata lette his body haue enny reste, othyr by day othyr by nyght. Wyntyr and Somer, he aros euer-more in the dawnynge, and herde vexatione torquebat. fryst his seruyce of holy church; theraftyr, most part al the day he wolde be out, othyr with houndys or with haukes; for in thay two thyngys he delyted gretly with-al / and vnneth he wolde ryde any hamlynge hors, but mych trottynge hors, for to trauail his body the more. Aftyr al his trauayl a-daye, vnneth he lette his body haue a lytil reste forto sitte to his mette. the whyle that he ette, and anoone aftyr mette, and namely aftyr soper, anoone he wolde arysse and stonde², and So dryue forth al the moste Parte of the nyght, So totam that al the courte was ofte wery of his wakynge. the man that he statione continua onys in lyche be-helde, euer he hadd knowlege of hym; and thynge curiam lassare that he hadd ones herde, euer aftyr he wolde hit vndyrstonde. consuethe man that he onys hattyd, vnneth he wolde euer aftyr loue; and verat. man that he onys lowyd, vnneth he wolde euer aftyr hate. Whan

¹ et desperabilis fiet afflictio.—Op. v. 301.

 $^{2-2}$ sibi nec pacem ullam nec requiem indulgebat. Venationi namque trans modestiam deditus, summo diluculo equo cursore transvectus, nunc saltus lustrans, nunc silvas penetrans, nunc montium juga transcendens, dies ducebat inquietos : vespere vero domi receptum, vel ante coenam vel post, rarissime sedentem conspexeris.—Op. v. 302.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XXXVII). [DUBL. MS.

Henry II described.

He lovd meekness, and hated pride.

> A.D. 1174-5. ____

Henry II does not forget his Ireland.

[*Fol. 18 b.]

He gets a grant from the Pope, ship of Irecharge to reform the folk to the laws of the Church,

No[ta] teno[rem] bullee [A]drian.

he wold euer eft hate. Whan any vnhappes hym befelle, noman meker ; efte whan he was yn sekernesse, no man sterne?. Suert , ayeyn the bold, meke wyth ham that weren vnder y-broght, hard amonge hys owne, & priuely large amonge vnkouth; & openly 4 mekenesse & debonerte he louede ; pryde & hauteynesse he hated, & wold brynge vnder fote.

[CHAPTER XXXVII.]

hegh be kynge wer wel longe yn grete nuy & grete anguyshe throught hys sonnes, as hyt ys to-fore I-told, 8 natheles, amonge other nedes, he ne foryet nat hys Irland. He lete take the lettres that war Imade yn the consaylle of Casshele, of the vnclene lyf & the horyble synnes that the folk of Irland lyueden In, || other-wyse than crysten men oght lyuen; & the 12 lettres, al ensealed as thay wer, he sent by hys messagers to the Court of Rome, to the pope Alyxsander that than was; & thar he dydde the purchace, that by auctoryte of the pope, & by hys of the Lord- concent, was to hym I-graunted the lordshype of the lond; & pe 16 land, and a lond-folke, that crysten shold be, & al clene was out of ryght reule of crystendome & ryght byleue, to bryngen yn-to ryght lawe of holy chyrch, yn the manere of England. That pryuelege forth, wyth another, that rather was purchased of be pope Adrian, 20 that was to-fore Alexander, was I-sent ouer yn-to Irlande by Nychole, pryour of Walyngeford, & Wyllyam Aldelines sone; & was a consaylle of al the clergye of Irland I-gaddered to-gyddre at Waterford: ther wer the pryueleges I-shewed & I-radde 24 solempnelych to-fore ham, & I-graunted heghlygh by consentement of al the comynes. The forme of thay preuyleges, as thay wer endyted yn the Court of Rome a latyne, ne myght I nat comly setten yn Englyshe, & perfor I hyt leue; bot the meste 28 streynth ys thys :---Whan the pope Adryan hadde herd opynly the euglelyf, & be synfule, that be folk of Irland ladden, wors than wyld bestes, & out of constytucions of holy chyrch & ryght byleue, he graunted the kynge that he shold ynto Irland wend, for to 32 adresse & sprede be termes of holy chyrch, for to wythstond & lete bad doings, the ruyne of syn, for to Amend the lyther thewes, & sette be good,

to withstand sin. and better any vnhappis hym be-felle no mane mckyr. Whan he was in sickyrnys, no man sternyr. Smyrte agayn the bolde, meke wyth ham *clemens in* that weryn vndyr-broght; harde amonge his owyn, ande Pryuely ^{subactos.} large amonge strange men; and opynly meknys and debonerte he *diffusus in* lowyd; Pryde and hauteynesse he hatyd, and wolde brynge vndyrfete.

[CHAPTER XXXVII.]

Thegh the kynge were wel longe in gret angwysche throgh Capitulum his sonnes, as hit is to-fore tolde, natheles, amonge othyr xxxvij^m. nedys, he foryate note his Irlande. he take the letteres that ware suae tamen made in the Consayl of Cassell, of the vnclene lyfe and the horribil agendum Synnys that the Pepil of Irland lyuedyn In / In othyr wyse than Hiberniae non imcrystyn men oght lyue; and the lettres, al Ensealid as thay were, memor. He sende his messagers to the Courte of Rome, to the Pope ab Alexan-Alysandyr that than was, and thar he did Purchase that, by dro tertio, tunc praeauctorite of the Pope and by his concent, was to hym grauntyd the sulente, privilorchippe of the londe, and the londe-Pepill that crystyn shold be, legium imand al clene was out of Ryght rule of crystyndome and ryght petravit. ¹ quod idem belewe, to brynge into ryght lawe of holy church, in the maner of rex ab England. That pryvylege forth, with an othyr 1 that radyr was Adriano... perquisi-Purchasid of the Pope Adriane, that was to-fore Alexandyr, was erat. sende ouer Into Irlande by Nyccle, pryoure of Walyngeforde, and in publica audientia Willam Aldelines-sone; and was a consayle of al the clergy of ejusdem privilegii. Irland y-gadderid to-giddyr at Watyrford. ther wer the pryuy- cum unilegis y-shewyd, and y-radd Sollempnelych to-fore ham, and grauntyd assensu hyghlych of al the comynys. The fourme of thay Pryuylegis, as solemnis recitatis thay wer endyted At Rome a-latyne, y may not comly sette in facta fuit. Englysh, and therfor y * Hit Leue; But the mest streynth is this : [*Fol. 17 Whan the Pope Adryan Hadd Herde opynly the evyl lyfe, and the Nota tenosynfull, that the Pepell of Irland laddyn, wors than wilde bestis, rem bulle and out of constituciones of holy churche and ryght be-lewe, he Adriane. graunted the kynge, that he sholde into Irland wende, forto adresse and sprede the termys of holy church, forto wythstonde and ² et vitiorum planlete the ruene of synne², forto a-mende the wickid dedis, and sette taria inde the good; forto En[e]che religion of crystyndome, So that hit were exstir. panda.

91

A.D.

1174-5.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XXXVIII). [DUBL. MS.

а.д. 1174-5.

But every house in Ireland is to pay the Pope 1d. a year.

All opponents are to go to the Devil.

A.D. 1174.

Now again for our Knights' deeds in Ireland. Hervey of Montmaurice, jealous of Reimund,

marries Nesta Fitz-Gerald.

O'Brien, King of Limerick, rebels. for to eneche relygyoun of crystendome, so that hyt war wyrshype to god, & helte to the soules; & the folke of pe londe, manshyply hym shold vptake, & worthly as lorde; saue ryghtes of holy chyrche vnwemmed; & to seynt petyr & pe holy modyr chyrche of Rome, of 4 enery hous a pany to rent, a yer, yn Irland, as yn England. Thys pryuelege was I-purchased of pe pope Adryan; & a clerk hyt purchased, that hette ¹ Ihōn of Salusbury; & the pope, by the same clerk, sent to the kynge a gulden rynge, yn name of Seysyne 8 of the lond. the pope Alexandre next aftyr hym confermed that same yift; & enery eper of ham amonested & parted from god almyghty, & betheght pe deuyl al ham that yn any tyme perayeyne wold come. 12

[CHAPTER XXXVIII.]

If be kynge And of hys sonnes, & of the purchase that be kynge dede, ys Inowe Itold shortlyche: now we wyllen turne aveyne to our knyghten gestes yn Irlande. The lond of Irland was yn good pees vnder Reymond-ys kepynge; bot 16 heruy of Mountynorthy,-that euer hadde enuy to Reymond, & saw that hys selth & hys wyrshype wex eucr more & more,---fore he ne durst nat openly showe the felony that was yn hys hert, he bethoght that he wold dernely; he made hym semblant of myche 20 loue; besoght ful yorne bat he most allyaunce haue to har kynrede, & namely, that he moste haue to wyue a gentyl-womman, Moryces doghter, fytz Gereud, that hegh Neste. Thys mayd was hym Igraunted, & he hyr spoused; & pat be kynrede sholden the 24 faster be Ibound togydyr, by procurynge of Reymond & of hym eke, be Erl yaf helyn, hys sustre, to Wyllyam, Moryces eldest sone : be erl sent eke aftyr Moryce, that was than Iwent ynto Walys; & at hys comynge, he yaue hym be haluendele of Ofelan, & be 28 castel of wykynlo; & pat oper haluendele he yaue Meyler. In the tyme bat be pees was, & be lond yn good state, byfel that Obren, the kynge of Thomon, aveyne hys trouth & aveyn the kynges pees, began to withdrawen hym from the kynge, & noght nold be 32 bowynge to hym, ne to ham that wer vnder hym yn be lond.

¹ MS. 'sette' for 'hight, hette, or hete,' p. 94, l. 22 below : 'per Johannem Salesberiensem,' v. 316.

vyrchipp to god, and helth to the Sowlys; and the Pepil of the londe, manshiply hym sholde vp-take, and worthy as lorde; Saue the ryght of holy church vnwemyd; and to seynt Petyr and the holy salva beato modyr churche of Rome, of euery hous a peny to rent, a yere, in sacro-Irland as in England. This pryuylege was Purchasyd of the Pope ^{sanctae} Romanae Adrian. / And a clerke hit Purchasid that was callid Ihon of ecclesiae, Salysbury; and the Pope, by the Same clerke, Sende to the kynge Anglia sic a golde rynge, in tokyn of Seysyn of the londe. And the Pope et in Hiber-Alexandyr nexte aftyr hym confermyt that Same vfte; And euery singulis othyr of ham amonessed and Partid from god almyghty, and betoke annua the deuyl al ham that in any tyme ther-ayeynnes wolde come.

[CHAPTER XXXVIII.]

A.D. 1174. Ff the kynge and of his sonnes, and of the Purchas that Capitulum the kynge did, is y-now tolde Sortelych. Now we will xxxviij^m. turne agayñe to oure knyghten gestis in Irland // The londe in Irland was in good pees vndyr Reymonde-is kepynge; but heruey of montmorthy,-that euer hadd envy to Reymonde, and Saw that his Videns ... ejusque goodnes and his wyrchippe [wex] euer more and more, -- for he ne successus drust not opynly show the felony that was in his herte, he be-thoght $\frac{de\ die\ in}{diem\ am}$ that he wolde Pryuely / he made to hym semblant of mych loue; plius prosperari. be-sogh[t] gretly that he sholde alyaunce haue to har kynryde, and Nota namely, that he haue to wyue a gentyl woman, Morices doghtyr, nium inter fitz-geraude, that was callid Neste. This mayde was to hym Herueium contrahi et graunted, and he hyr Spoused. and that the kynred sholde be fastyr Nestam filiam bounde to-giddyr, by procurynge of Reymonde and of hym also, the Maurici the fitz-geraud. Erle vaue Ellyn his sustyr, to Willam, Morices Eldyst Sone. Erle sende also aftyr Moryce, that was than went into walis; and at his comynge, he yaue halfe to hym of Ofelan, and the castel of medium Ophelaniae wickylow; and the othyr halfe he yaue to Meyler. In the tyme cantarethat the Pees was, and the londe in good state, befel that Obreen, $\frac{dum}{cum} \frac{Wi}{Wi}$. the kynge of Thomonde, agayn his trouth and the kynges Pees, kingelo-nensi began to wyth-drawe hym frome the kynge, and wolde not be castro. bowynge to hym, nethyr to ham that wer yndyr hym in the londe.

93

A.D. 1174-5.

Petro, et sicut in nia, de domibus unius denarii pensione.

94 THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XXXVIII). [DUBL. MS.

Reymond told per-of myche vnworthynes, & yn lytyl whyle gadered [Fol. 19 a.] to-dedderes [so] hys hoste, so that he hadde an hundert knyghtes A.D. 1175. & .xx.^{ti}, thre hundret other an hors, & .cccc. bowmen afote, & about al-halwen-tyde went toward lymeryke. Whan thay wer theder 4 Reimund marches to Limerick; I-come, thay hadden grete lette of the grete watyr of be shynen, but is that was betwen ham & be syte, so that thay myght nat ouer stopt by wende: the yonglynges-that wel coueytouse wer ham self to the Shannon. auaunce, her stalwarthnesse to showe, & also wynnynge to gete & to 8 hawe,---weren wel sore a-tened bat thay myght nat ouer to be syte that was ham so neght, for be watyr bat was so depe & so streit rennynge betwene, & eke so stony by the ground. As the formest of ham waren houynge vpon be waterys brynk, was a yonge 12 knyght amonge ham, newly I-dobbet, fayr & stalwa[r]th, Reymondes His nephew, Neuowe, that hete Dauy the Welsse¹: throgħ grete couetyse that Davy the Welshman he hadde, ouer al other to wyn the formest pryce, ne dredet nat to do hym-self to so horyble perylle of deth; he smote hys hors with 16 the spores, & ouer-threwe adoun ynto be watyr, bat was so depe & so stony. the horse was myche & stronge, & come sone vp aboue the watyr wyth hym. he wyssed the hors sydlynge ayeyns swims the river the watyr asquynt, & come ouer on the other syde, & cryed to hys 20 aslant; men, & seyd that he hadde a ford I-found. bot, for he fond no man but as only bat hym wold felowe, bot o knyght that hete Geffrey Iudas², he one knight turned ayeyne by that same wey, & be knyght with hym. he come follows him, he ouer hole & sound; bot be knyght, brogh be streyntnesse of be 24 swims watyr, was I-throw adoun, he & hys hors, & y-drent to-for ham al. back. Whan Meyler, that theder was wyth Reymond I-comen, bys saw. Meiler then he hadde grete enuy that such hardynesse shold be I-teld of any other, & nat to hym: vpon the hors bat hym bar, he put hymself 28 crosses the yn the watyr, & hardylyche, wyth-outten any ferdnesse, passed ouer be other syde. The cytzeyns sawe hym comynge so al-oon; thay Shannon. comen ayeyn hym, some for to kepe hym vpward at hys comynge out of be watyr, for to mak hym turne ayeyne; other, to vndo hym 32 ryght yn the watyr. The knyght was stalwarth, & boldly putte hym yp bytwene twe perylle :---on on halue, be wode-yernynge

> ¹ David agnomine Walensis. Op. v. 321. ² Galfridus Judas. *Ibid*.

RAWL. MS. WELSH DAVY, AND MEILER, SWIM THE SHANNON.

Reymonde tolde therof gret vnworthynys, and in lytyll whyle A.D. 1175. gaddrid to-gidderis his hoste, So that he hadd an hundred knyghtes circa and xxti, thre hundrid oper an hors, and CCCC bowmen afoote ; and kalendas Octobris. aboute al-halwyn-tyde wentyn toward lymerike. whan thay wer thedyr come, thay hadd gret lette of * the watyr of the Shynnyñ, [*Fol. 18 a.] that Was Betwen Ham and the Cite, So that thay myght not ouerthe yonglynges-that wel couetos were ham-selfe to juventus, wende. auaunce, har myght to show, and also wynnynge to gette and to $\frac{tam lucri}{quam}$ haue,-wer sore greuyd that thay myght not ouer to the cite that *laudis* cupida. was ham so nyghe, for the watyr that was to depe, and so Streyte tanquam rynnynge betwen, and also so stony by the grounde. As the ad aquas Tantali fryste of ham was abydynge vpon the watyres brynke, was posita. a knyght amonge ham newely dobbid, fayre and stalwarth, Reymondes Eme, that was callid Dauy the Welsse: through gret horrencouetyse that he hadd, ouer al othyr to wyn the formyste price, he dumque mortis he periculum dreddit not to do hym-Selfe to so horribill Perel of deth. laudis smote his hors with the Sporis, and ouer-threw adoune Into the amore contemnens. watyr, that was depe and ful of stonys. the hors was mych and stronge, and come Sone vp abow the watyr with hym. he wissed Cursum itaque the hors sydlynge ayeynes the watyr asquynt, and come ouer on the fuminis othyr syde, and cried to his men, and seyde that he had a forde lateraliter obliguans. founde. but, for he found no man that hym wolde follow, but O knyght that [was] callid Geffrey Iudas, he turned agayn by that Same wey (and the knyght come with hym) holde and Sounde ; but militem the knyght, through the Strey[t]nys of the watyr, was caste down, he illum, in redeundo, and his hors, and drounde to-for ham all / whan Meyler, that amnis impetuosi thedyr was with Reymonde come, this Sawe, he hadd gret envy violentia raptum, ad that Such boldnys sholde be tolde of any othyr, and noght of hym : ima subvpon the hors that hym bare, he Put hym-Selfe in the watyr, and mersumque non reboldely, wyth-out any ferde, Passid ouer the othyr syde. The duxit. Citteseynys Saw hym comynge out of the watyr so al-oone: thay came agayn hym, some forto kepe hym vpward at his comynge out of the watyr, forto make hym turne agayn; othyr, to vndo hym ryght in the watyr. The knyght was stronge, and boldely Putte hym vp be-twen two Perelis :---on oone halue, the wode rynnynge

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XXXVIII). [DUBL. MS.

A.D. 1175. watyr so grysly; on other halue, hys fomen, that with stonys & with Meiler is fawes hym leyden on, both at be watyr, & vpon the wallys of the stoned and toun, bat ryght vpon the watyr stode. He pute hys sheld & hys shot at by the Limheed with the helme aveyns the dyntes, & hertely held hym amydde 4 erick men. al þat harme, alone, wythout any helpe, ful unseker on al syde: þe crye was ful horyble on euery halue. And Reymond, that was at be Reimund last of be hoste, as hede & lodesman & prynce of al be hoste, herde the crye, & wyst nat yit what hyt was. He come anoon hastyly 8 thrughe al be hoste, tyl he come to be watyr; & when he sawe hys neueu on that other syde, so narowe byladde, & on al syde besete so narowe, he hadde grete angwysshe yn hys hert; & sharpe & calls on his byttyrly bygan to cry to hys felowes : "Men that so stalwarth 12 troops to ben of ryght kynd, & yn so fele Anguysshes with vs hath you? streynth assayed, cometh forth, men ! the way ys open to-for vs, & the ford that noon of vs ne couth, throgh hardynesse of our y-found. folow we now the herty knyght, that so stronge ys 16 save Meiler. byladde, & let me hym neuer so neygħ to-for our eghen be I-shent ! " He and all With that word, Reymond was be fyrst that put hym yn be watyr : his host & al be hoste aftyr dyde ham yn aduentur, & yn goddys grace, swim the & wenten our al quyte, bot o knyght that hete Guy, & twey fote- 20 Shannon, and take men. her fomen flowen 2 to-fore hem ynto the Cytè, & thay braken Limerick. yn aftyr, & wan the cytè, & slowen ful many of be cytzeyns, & dreyntten. Thay fonden ther so myche gold & syluer & other [||Fol. 19 rychesshe, that for that, & eke for the maystre || that god ham sent, 24 b.] thay told lytel of the perylle & the lostes that thay hadde ther-to-Which was fore. Nowe arede ye, whyche was the hardyest of these thre the boldest knyghtes? whether he, that wythout any man to-fore hym, put of the three? hym yn-to the watyr for to techen al the other the weye; Ather 28 Davy, Meiler, or he, that, aftyr ensample of hym, & the horyble death of ham that Reimund? weren I-dreynt to-fore har eyghen, passed the watyr, & al-one sette so hardyly hys body to mark amonge so many fomen; Other he, that aftyr ham both, so hardyly & so boldly, with al the hoste, put 32 hym yn so gret perrylle ? Thus was, as the ³ tyme, lymeryk I-wonne

¹ MS. fawes. Lat. creberrimis lapidum jaculorumque jactibus. Op. v. 322.
 ² MS. slowen. Lat. fugatis in urbem hostibus, v. 322.

³ ? for 'at this.'

watyr so grymly; on the othyr syde, his enemys, that wyth stones A. D. 1175. and with fawis hym leydyn on, both at the watyr, and vpon the creberrimis laniwallis of the toun, that ryght vpon the watyr stode. he Put his dum jacushelde and his hede with the sallet 1, agayn the strokys, and hertely lorumque helde hym amyd al the Perelis al-one, with-out any helpe, ful galeam vnsure on al sydis / the cry was ful horribill on euery syde. And clipeumque Reymond, that was at the laste of the hoste, as hede and ledder and praetendens. prynce of al the hoste, herde the cry, and wyst not what hit was. he come anoone hastely throw al the hoste, til he come to the watyr; and whan he Saw his eme on that othyr syde, so narrow besette, acriter exhe hadd grete angwysche in his herte; and sharpe and bittyr began *clamavit*: *Viri*, quito cry to his fellouys, "Men, that So bolde ben, of ryght kynde, and bus virtutis viaorem in so many angwyschis with vs hath youre streynth proued, come insitum forth, men! they way is oppenyd to-for vs; and the forde that noone notimus a natura, of vs knew, through boldnys of oure is founde. followe now the herty quorumque in tot anknyght that so stronge is by-ladde; and lette we neuer so ney to-for gustils anioure eyyne be shente!" wyth that worde, Reymonde was the fryste mositatis vires exthat * Put Hym in the Watyr; and al the Hoste aftyr did Ham in perti aduenture, and in goddys grace, and wenten ouer al quyte, (but sumus. Nota pa o knyght, that was callid Guy, and two footmen,) ² her enemys captionem kylledyn to-for hem, into the Cite³, and Slowyn ful many of the limeric. Citteseynes, and dreyntyn². Thay foundyn ther so mych golde and [*Fol. 18 Siluyr, and othyr riches, that for that, and also for the Maystry that b.] god ham sende, thay tolde lytel of the Perel and the lostis that thay hadd ther-to-fore. Now ared be, whyche was the boldyst of this thre knyghtes: Whedyr he that, with-out any man to-for hym, put Elige, hym in the watyr forto techyn al the othyr the wey; Othyr he that, lector, trium viaftyr Ensampill of hym, and the horribil deth of ham that weryn rorum audentissidrovnde to-for har eyyn, Passid the watyr, and al-one sette so mum. hardy his body, to marke, amonge so many ennemys; Othyr he that, aftyr ham both, so hardy and so boldely, with al the hoste, Put hym in so grette Peril. Thus was as this tyme lymerike take on

³ The English copier of this MS. has jumpt from the first 'Cite' to the second—see lines 21, 22 opposite,—and put 'killedyn'= 'slowen'l. 22 opp. for 'flowen,'l. 21 opp.

Η

 $^{^{2-2}}$ fugatis in urbem hostibus, non sine grandi civium strage, muros statim irruperunt; et urbe potiti cum victoria, spoliis plurimum ditati et auro, periculi damna lucri simul et laudis honore compensarunt. v. 322-3.

Three Victories on a Tuesday, the day dedicated by heathens to Mars.

A. D. 1175. one a tywesday¹; Watyrford I-wonne one a tywesdaye, & dyuelyn also: noght for o coste was that day awayted per-to, bot as hyt byfelle by cas & by adwentur; & nat wythout skyle, ffor the tywesday, by hethen men day yn the old world, was I-sette to a god 4 that day cleped Mars, & was I-hold god of bataylle; & on that day thay fonden, bat whose batavlle besoght, he shold spede better than yn ober dayes.

[CHAPTER XXXIX.]

Reimund Fitz-Gerald

was a farseeing, selfrestraind man,

night,

liberal,

War.

Now I wille yowe telle these twey stalwarth knyghtes, 8 Reymond & Meyler, whych thay weren. Reymond was a man brod of body,² somdel more than metlyche, yolowe her & sam-crysp, grey eyghen & depe, somdel heyghe nose, neb rody, wel I-hewed, glad semblant & cleep²; man of moche methe & of 12 grete purueyaunce; nothynge delycion, nother of mete ne of cloth; heet & cool, al I-lyche, wel he myght suffre; man of mych trauaylle; tholmode yn wreth; as redy he was to serue, to queme ham that he was ouer, as to be I-serued of ham. Whan he hoste 16 ladde, he was so besy about to kepe the host, that oft he left watchful at slepe al the nyght, & wandredde about, spyenge & crynge for to look hat noon harme ne shold betyde, & for he wold euer fyrst be redy, yf hyt nede wer. & shortlych to sygge hys thewes & hys 20 maneres, he was man free & meke, queynt & purueynge; & thegh he wer swyth hardy & wel taght yn wepne, of quenyntyse & of sleyght yn syght, & of selth yn bataylle, he passed al other's; & and most skilful in thegh he yn both wer myche to prevse, he was better leder of 24 hoste þan knyght.

Meiler lookt dark and stern. [CHAPTER XL.]

eyler was a man of durk semblant; blak eghen, & roghlokynge; sterne semblant; of body, somdel more than methlych; ful stalwarth, wel I-brested, smal mydel 4, armes & other 28

¹ Later note in margin : 'Ther-aftyre hyt was I-socoured one a tywsday.

2-2 staturaeque paulo plus quam mediocris ; capillis flavis et subcrispis, oculis grossis, glaucis et rotundis, naso mediocriter elato, vultu colorato, hilari, ac sereno. Op. v. 323.

³ et quanquam animosus plurimum, et armis instructus, prudentia tamen rebus in martiis et providentia praecellebat. v. 324.

⁴ staturae paulo mediocri plus pusillae; corpore tamen pro quantitatis captu pervalido; pectore quadrato, ventreque substricto. v. 324.

RAWL. MS. REIMUND FITZ-GERALD AND MEILER DESCRIBED.

a tyvysday, theraftyr hit was socourid on a tywysday, waterford A.D. 1175. was take on a tyvysday, and deuelyn also. noght for oo Purpos nec per industriam was that day wayted therto, but as hit befell by case and by hac, sed aduenture, and not with-out skylle. For the tyvysday, by hethyn casu solo contigisse. men tyme in the olde worlde, was sette to a god that is callid Mars, and Was holde god of battayle; And on pat day thay foundyn, that who-so battayl be-soght, he sholde spede bettyr that day than in othyr dayes.

[CHAPTER XXXIX.]

NOwe y wille you telle thes two bolde knyghtes, Reymond Capitulum and Meyler, whych they weryn // Reymond was a man Descripcio brode of body, somdel more than metlych, yolowe here, and sam- Reymundi crysp; grey eyyn and depe, Somdel hegh nose, face rody we[1] hewid, Le gras. glad, semblante, and clere; man of mych mette and of grete Puruey- Vir moaunce / nothynge delycious, nothyr of mete ne of cloth; 1 hette and destus et providus, colde, al y-lyke, wel he myght suffyr; man of mych trauail; nec cibo nec veste tholmode in wreth; as redy he was to Serve, to queme ham that he delicatus. was ouer, as to be seruyd of ham ¹. Whan he hadd host, he was so byssy about to kepe the hoste, that ofte he lefte Slepe al the nyght, and Walkid about, Spyenge and crienge forto loke that noone harme ne sholde befall, and for he wolde euer fryst be redy, yf hit nede were. And Sortely to Say his condicionys and his maneres, he was man fre and meke, queynt and Purueyynge; and thegh he wer providus Swyth hardy, and wel taght in wepyn, of queyntyse and of Sleght $\frac{et \ prudens.}{2 \ multum}$ in fygh[t], and of Selth in battayl, he Passid al othyr; and thegh he quidem in both were mych to Preyse², he was bettyr ledder of hoste than militis habens, sed plus knyght. ducis.

[CHAPTER XL.]

MEYler was a man of durkesemblant; ³blake eyyne and rogh Capitulum lokynge; sterne Semblante; of body, somdel more than ^{slm.} metlych, ful bolde, wel brestyde, smale myddyl, armys and othyr nigris et torvis.

 $^{^{1-1}}$ caloris et algoris ei patientia par: vir patiens irae, patiensque laboris. Quibus praesidebat prodesse magis quam praeesse, potiusque minister quam magister videri volens.—Op.v.324. (No Latin here for 'Whan...nede were.')

100

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XL-XLI). DUBL. MS.

never afraid of prise. He'd But he, and all the knights, robd the Church.

Praises of the Fitz-Stephens, Fitz-Geralds, Fitz-Henrys, &c.

The memory of their pluck and grand deeds shall never die out.

[*Fol. 20 a.]

Reimund victuals Limerick, and leaves his cousin, Miles of St. David's, in charge of it. Hervev of Montmaurice envies

lymmes ful bony, more synowy than fleysly. he was knyht ful Meiler was hardy & enuyouse; he was neuer aferde ne agryse to begynne thynge yn fyght that any man oght done hym on, Ather wyth any enter- other y-meued ¹. In euery fyght, he was be fyrst to begynne, & the 4 laste that hyt wold leue. Al be stalwarthnese that any man myght win or die. do, he wold passe, or suffre deth; the maystrye & prys to wynne, other deve,-nothynge he ne sette betwene. Of al thynge, bothe these knyghtes wer to preyse myche wyth-al, ner hyt that thay, 8 through couetyse, oft byname holy chyrch her ryghtes; bot more harme ys, & mychel to mourne, that defaute hadden meste al our knyghtes from the forme begynnynge. What was Robert steuenesson & hys sonnes yn har tyme? what, Moryce fytz 12 Geraud & hys sones? what, Robert debarry, of whom ys to-fore St. Davids, I-told ? what, myles de seynt dauy ? both Robertes & Moryce neueuen, that with be formest boldly come ynto Irland? what, Fitzhughs, Robert fyz henry, Meyleres brother? what, Reymond de Cante- 16 tone ? what, Robert de barry the yonge ? what, Reymond huessone ? what, other of the selue gentrye, many & I-nowe, whych hyt war stronge to namen al by nam? for no mane ne myght hyt bethynk, bot har stalwarthnesse ne her good deddes shold neuer 20 wend out of mynd. Thay wer a folke & a kynrede, on two halue, kyndly, stalwarth, & hardy; on other halue, of be kynde of ffraunce, & ther of wel I-taght yn wepne of myche * nenbre (?) of kynred & kynd stalwarthnesse euer more to her ende. Whan Reymonde 24 A.D. 1175. hadde I-wonne the sytè of lymeryke, he ordeyned & purueyed how the cytè myght be best I-kept; he lete brynge theder vyttavlle on euery halue grete plente, & lefte per Myles of seynt dauy, with fyfty knyghtes & squyers an-hors, & ccc bowmen, 28 & with be other parte of the hoste wyth yoy & gladnesse al harmles turned ayeyne ynto leynestre.

[CHAPTER XLI.]

The lond was pan yn good pees vnder Reymondes kepynge, so that non Iresshe-man ne durst hym stur to 32 mysdom. Heruy of Mommorthy, that euer hadde enuy to hym,

¹ Miles animosus et aemulus; nihil umquam abhorrens, quod aggredi quis vel solus debeat vel comitatus, v. 324.

lymes full bony, more synowy than fleshy. he was knyght ful Descripcio hardy and Enuyouse; he was newyre aferde ne agryse to begynne Melerij. thynge in fyght that any man ogh don hym on, * Althyr wyth [*Fol. 19 othyr ymewyd. In euery fyght, he was the fryst to Begynne, and be a.] laste hit to leue; al the boldnes that any man myght do, he wolde Passe, or suffyre dethe. The maystry and Prysce to wyn othyr dye, inter mornothynge he ne sette betwen. Of al thynge, both this knyghtes tis et martis were to Preyse mych wyth-all, nere hit that thay, through covetyse, triumphos, nihil meofte toke holy church ryghtes; but more harme is, and gretly to dium morne, that defaute haddyn meste al our knyghtes frome the fryst ponens. begynnynge. / What was Robert Steuenes-sone and his Sonnys; What, Robert de barry, of whom is to-for tolde; What, Morice fizgeraud and his sonnes; What, Miles de seynte dauy; both Robert and Morices emys, that wyth the fryst boldely come into Irland; what, Robert fiz-henry, Meyler-is brodyr; What, Reymonde de Canteton; What, Robert de barry the yonge; What, Reymond Hues- Quid alii Sone; What, othyr of the same gentil, many and y-now, whych hit generosi-tutis ejuswere stronge to telle by name ? for no man ne myght hit be-thynke, dem quam plurimi, but har boldenys ne her good dedys shold neuer go out of mynde. quibus ¹ They wer a pepill and a kynred, on both sydys, be kynde, bolde and ^{insignia} singulorum hardy; on othyr halue of the kynde of Fraunce, and ther-of wel gesta taght in wepyn, of mych nembre, of kynred and kynde bolde, euer- poterant more to her ende1 // Whan Reymonde hadd take the Cite of lymerike2, *laudis* memoriam he ordeynyd and Purueyed how the Cite myght be best kepte : he promereri? lette brynge thedyr vytayll, on euery halue, grete Plente; and lefte^{2A. D. 1175.} ther Miles of Seynt dauy, with fifty knyghtes and Squyerys an hors, and CCC bowmen; and wyth the othyr Parte of the hoste, with Ioy and gladnys, al harmeles, turned agayn Into leynystre.

[CHAPTER XLI.]

THe londe was than in good Pees vndyr Reymondys kepynge, Capitulum So that non Irysh-man durst not styr hym to mysdone. Hereius Heruey of Mounmorthy, that euer had Enuy to hym, ne lefte not, de Monte

mis animositatem, a Gallis

 $^{^{1-1}}$ O genus! O gens! gemina natura, a Trojanis animositatem, a Gallis armorum usum originaliter trahens.— Op. v. 326.

Reimund Fitzsends lies about him to Henry II,

which the King believes, and despatches Messengers to bring Reimund back.

Nota de aduentu powerenter in hiberniam.

Hervey de Montmaurice

without, as he was foul within. He was lecherous, envious. treacherous,

a coward,

A.D. 1175. ne left nat, for the allyance that was ham betwene, bat he ne dydde hym al be harme that he myght, & opynly shewed than Gerald, and be felony that he longe hadde I-borne yn hys hert. He sent ouer to be kynge by Messagers, 1 & made hym to vnderstond that 4 Reymond was yn yndygnacion of the kynge; & ayeyne hys owne trouth, so hauteyn I-worth, that he wold al Irland take to hym & to hys¹; &, for hys lesynges shold be bettyr be y-leued, feel bynges he made hym to vndrestond, & so fayr hyt slyked wyth 8 falsnesse, that hyt somet sothe, al that he seyde. The kynge-as ofte manere ys that lydder tales ben bettyr I-leued, & lenger I-thoght, that good-he beleued be fals mannys talys & wryynge, & sent yn-to Irland four Messagers, that vs to wytten, Robert 12 the power, Osbern of herford, Wyllyam Berynger, & Adam of yarnemouth, of whych the twey shold abyde with the Erle yn Irland, & be other tweyn shold wende ayeyne ynto England wyth Reymond, as be kynge hym hadde COMMAWNDET. 16

[CHAPTER XLII.]

eruy was a man fayr & lygne, eyghen grey & depe, ouelyche lokynge, favr semblaunt, of favr spech & wordes wel besete; of body more than methlych, of al lymmes ful was as fair becomly; bot as fay? & as becomly as he was wytout, as lydder 20 & as fals of many maner lastes he was wyt-In; ffor, fro the tyme that he was chyld, he yaf hymself to lecherye; & nat only to many sengle wommen; bot he ne synned neter spousbrych ne syblynges; incestuous, he was onful & bakbyter, 2 wreyer, false & traytur, duble of 24 tonge & nothyng stydfaste, butt yn ² falsnesse hys speche thoght as thogh hyt wer hony & mylk out of hys mouthe, bot euer hyt was I-meygnet with attyr at be ende. Som tym he was stalwarth, as to knyght longeth; bot aftyr, he yaue hym selue more to 28 cowerdyse than to knyghthode; & more he couth hym maken, a braggart, than he was worth 3; hegh of berynge yn hous, & noght of plente; of mych speche, & lytel sothnesse.

> 1-1 illi sinistre rerum eventum indicarit: asseverans quoque Reimundum, contra regis honorem, et fidem debitam, non tantum Limericum, verum etiam Hiberniam totam, sibi suisque jam occupare proculdubio proposuisse. - Op. v. 327. ³ MS. wroth. 2-2 These words are in a different hand.

for the alyaunce that was ham betwen, that he ne did hym al the A.D. 1175. harme that he myght, and opynly shewed than the felony that he longe thoght in herte. he sende ouer to the kynge by messangerys, and did hym to yndyrstonde, that Reymonde was in indignacion of the kynge; and agayn his owyn throuth, so Hauteyn I-worth, that Et ut hoc he wolde al Irland take to hym and to his. And, for his lesyngys figmentum delator sholde the bettyr be belewid, ¹ many lesyngys he made hym to regits auribus vndyrstonde; and So fayre hit glosyd with lesyngis, that hit Semyd tutius et trouth, al that he sayde '. The kynge, -as ofte maner is, that fals probabilius praesentalys ben bettyr belewid, and lengyr thoght², than good,-he belewid taret. ² memoria the fals manes talys and accusynge, And Sende Into Irland foure diuturnior. Messagers, that is to wittyn, Robert de Power, Osbern of Herforde, Nota de aduentu Willam Berynger, And adam of Iarnemouth³; of the whych, two Powersholde abyde with the Erle in Irland, and the othyr two sholde encium in Hiberwende agayn in-to England, with reymond, as the kynge hym hadd niam. comandyd.

[CHAPTER XLII.]

Eruey was a man fayre and lygne, eyghyn grey and Capitulum depe 4, lolych lokynge, fayre semblant, of fayre Speche xlijm. Descripcio and wordys wel besette * of body more than metlych, of al Heruei. Lymmys wel becomly; But as fayre and as Becomly as he was [*Fol. 19 b.] wyth-out, As wickyd and as fals of many maner lastes he was i promiwyth-In. // Fro the tyme that he was chylde, he yaue hym-Selfe nentibus aspectu to lechery, and not only to many Syngyl Women⁵, but he ne amabili. synnyd neuer spousebrich ne siblynges; he was onfull and bac-⁵ nec incestus byter, wreyer, fals and trechoure, doubill of tonge, and nothynge ullos, nec stydfast but in falsnesse; his spech, as hit were honny and adulmylke out of the mouth, but euer hit was medlid with wenym at vitans. Vir invidus, the Ende. Sometym he was bolde, as longyth to a knyght; but delator, et aftyr, he yafe hym [more] to cowardyse than to knyght-hode; and duplex; vir submore he made of hym-Selfe than he was worth; hey of bery ge dolus, in house, and not of plente; of myche speche, and lytyl trouth. fallax.

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¹⁻¹ ad votum effectui mancipandum, in Bragmannorum morem conjuratas ad hoc catervas Reimundum asserit composuisse. v. 327.

⁸ Robertum Poerium, et Osbertum de Herlotera, Gulielmum de Bendinges, et Adam de Gernemes. v. 328.

[CHAPTER XLIII.]

A. D. 1176.

Reimund hears that Donnell O'Brien, King of Limerick. the English there.

Reimund marches for Limerick, [* Fol. 20 b.]

with McMurrough of Okensely and King Donnell of Ossory. The men of Thomond barricade the Pass of Cashel against the English.

of Ossory appeals to the Anglo-Irish force to fight bravely.

Deymond hym dyght for to wende ynto England, as the kynge hym commandet; & nothynge abode, bot wynd & wedyr at the see : come Messagers, hastyly I-sent from the meygne of lymeryke, & tolden that Obreen, the kynge of thomond, was 4 belyggynge lymeryke with ful grete hostes; &, for bey hadden is besieging all the wytaylle bat Reymond ham lefte & eke that thay hadden ther-aftyr I-puchassed yn the wenter-tyme, al I-spendet, me shold ham hastyly send socoure. The Erle was ful anguysshous ham 8 for to socour, & spake per-of to the meygne, & besoght ham wel yonre (yorne?) theder to go; bot thay war so wroth & so sory for Reymondes wendynge awey, that euerychon, with oo mouth, for-soken alout, that, without Reymond, for nothynge theder thay 12 nold wend. The Erle toke consaylle her, of the kynges messagers; &, for the thynge was yn grett perryll, at be end, throgh bysy besechynge of the erle & eke of ham, Reymond turned aveyne the baneres toward * lymeryke. And as thay come toward 16 Casshel wyth the hoste,-as myght be, syxty knyghtes, & two hundret squyers & thre hundret bowmen, wythout Iresshe-men that comen eke wyth ham, as Macmorgh of okensely & dofnild of osserye,-me come to ham, & told ham, fore that bay of 20 thomon hadde I-lefte be sege of lymeryke, & wer I-comen aveyns ham, to kepe ham yn the paas of Casshel; & thegh the paas was stronge yn hymselfe, thay kesten adoun tren, & made dyches thar towr, & hegges vpon, for noon horsman ne shold ouer wend. 24 Whan thay were negh to the pas I-comen, Reymond deled the hoste a thre. & downyld, be kynge of Osserv, that ful mychell hated, & foman was to, ham of thomon, saw be Englyshe hostethegh thay fewe wer-of ful good herte, & wel & semly I-wepned, 28 K. Donnell for thay shold be be trustyer, & the bettre herte haue to hem, & seyd, "Men, that bys lond wyth stalwarthnesse haue I-wonne, assayleth today styfly your fomen! ffor yf, ye, as your won ys, ouercometh, & the maystry haue; our sparthes, forth wyth yowr 32 swerdys, our fomen smertly shulle folowen aftyr; & yf ye-that god forbede !---ben ouercome, syker be ye that we forth with our fon en wyllen turne vpon yowe. Take hede, knygthtes, & vnderstondeth, your townes & your castels ben welle ferr hennes, & 36

[CHAPTER XLIII.]

REymond made hym redy to go into England as the Capitulum kynge hym commaundid and nothynge abode but wynde xliijm. and wedyr at the See. Come messagers hastely sende frome A. D. 1176. the meny of lymerike, and toldyn that Obreen, the kynge of Themonde, was besegyn lymerike with ful grete hostis; and, for quoniam thay haddyn al the vytaill that Reymonde with ham had lefte, menta, tam and also that thay purchasid sithenys, thay had al spende, And ibi inventa that thay shold hastely sende ham Socoure. The Erle was ful tracta, angwyschous ham for-to socoure and Spake thereof to the meny brumali tempore and besoght ham wel ofte thedyr to go, but thay were so wroth consumpserant. and So sory for Reymondes goynge away, thay euerchone wyth o se illuc woyse forsokyn al, that wyth-out Reymonde for no-thynge thedyr ituros absque thay wolde goo. / The Erle toke consayl her-of of the kynges Reimundo messangers, and for the thynge was in gret Perel. at the Ende unanimiter throw besechynge of the Erle and also of ham Reymond turned contraagayn the baners toward lymerike. And as thay come to-ward cassel with the hoste-as myght be, Sixti knyghtys and two hundrid Tuhetmo-Squyeres and iijc bowmen, without Iryssh-men that comyn also nienses, with ham, as Macmurgh of O-kensley and dofnyld of Ossery-thay relicta, ei come to ham, and tolde ham, ¹ fore that thay of Thomon hadd lefte in passu Cassiliensi the sege of lymerike, and were comyn agaynes ham, to kepe ham in obviam the Paas of Casshel; and thegh the Paas was stronge in hym-Selfe, *venisse*; et locum, thay castyn adoun trees, and made dichis thartowre, and heggys natura vpon, for noone hors-man ne sholde ouer-wende. When thay wer difficilem, confragis ney to the Paas y-come, Reymond delid the host a thre. And arborum downyld, the kynge of Ossory, that gretly hatid, and enemy was et fossatis to ham of Tomonde, Saw the Englyssh host (thegh thay few were) exaspeof ful good herte, and wel semely we penyd; and for thay sholde be $\frac{rasse}{sepem}$ the trustier, and the bettyr herte haue to them; and sayde, "Men, quoque that wyth boldnes this londe haue conquerid, assaylyth this day fortissistyfly youre enemys! For an ye, as youre wone is, ouercomyth, and transverso the maystry haue, our Sparrys, forth with youre Swerdys, oure locasse. enemys smyrtly shull follow aftyr. And yf ye (that god forbede !) hostibus ben ouer-come, syckyr be ye ² that we forth with oure enemys wil ^{procul-} dubio conturne vpon yow. Take hede, knyghtys, and vndyrstondyth, youre vertentur. * tounys and your castelys Ben wel ferre Hennes, and the flyght ful [*Fol. 20 a.]

THE ENGLISH CONQUST OF IRELAND (CH. XLIII). [DUBL. MS.

A. D. 1176. the flyght ful longe, & our maner ys, to helpe ham that ben omost,

Meiler Fitz-Henry leads the attack, and forces the Pass on Easter Eve April 3. They enter Limerick, and repair it. Reimund. at

Killaloe,

Irish rebels to swear allegiance to Henry II. He then agrees to help Der-mot Mac-Carthy against his son Cormack.

Reimund marches to Cork. and beats Cormack,

in prison, and then beheaded. hede.

& folowe the fleynge. trysteth wel to vs; bot no lenger than the yn the formeste of the host, smertly spronge out, as sparke out 4 of fyr; & al the host aftyr stalwartly com to the pas; & nat wyt-out gret slaght of ham that wythstoden, opened the way, & wentten ouer an estre euen, & a thrydde ester day, that ys to wentten, on a tywesday, as at the other tyme. Also nowe, the S host come ynto lymeryk, Reymond lete ryght & arer that, throgh the sege of har fomen, was I-wasted & destrued. & nat lange ther-aftyr, he held parlement with the kynge of Connaght & the kynge of Thomon, bot yn oo day bot nat yn o place; ffor the kynge 12 of Connaght held hym yn the watyr of the shynen, yn a myche logh, yn botys, & the kynge of Thomon was thar negh yn a wodde. Reymond was betwene two, at kyldalo, as myght by, syxten myle frome lymeryk. Ther was the parlement so fer forth 16 induces the I-dryuen, that every of ham delyvered to Reymond good hostages, & othes many-fold sworne hold & trewe, yn good pees for to hold euer efte to the kynge & to hys. Whan thys was I-done, & Reymond turned ayeyne wyth hys hostages to lymeryke, be 20 prynce of desmond, Dermot Maccarthy, sent by messagers to Reymond, & besoght hym that he aveyne hy[s] eldeste sone that hete Cormoc Olethan-tha[t] wel negh hym out of hys kyngedome I-putte-hym, as the kynges trew man, shold helpe; & 24 large yiftes he byhete, both to Reymond & the meygne, wyth that that thay wold hym helpe. Reymond, as man that had nat loth wynnynges, ne hymself to auaunce, spake her-of to hys falawes, & thay alle graunted to dow as he wold, & turned the baners 28 toward the Contreys of Cork. by weyes as thay wentted, thay name many prayes, wher-of the meynge was ful wel apayed, & mych ther-of was oft I-sent to lymeryk, so longe, that through help of Reymonde, Dermot recouered al hys kyngedome vpon hys sone 32 -of whyche he was negh I-pute owt :- the sone was I-take & who is put delyuered to the fadyr, & he hym pute yn pryssoun, & nat longe ther-aftyre hym be-lete take out of pryssoun, & smyth of hys 36

Longe. ¹And oure maner is, to helpe ham that ben omyste, and A. D. 1176. follow the fleynge. trystyth wel to vs; but no longyr than ye haue the ouer hande" / Whan this was sayde, Meyler, that was in the Nota quod formyst of the hoste, smyrtly styrte out, as sparke of fyre; and hibernici non sunt al the host aftyr, boldely come to the Paas; and not wyth-out gret amici nisi slaght of ham that wythstodyn, openyd the way, and wentyn ouer forma an Estre-evyn, and the thyrd Estyr-day, that is to say, on a faciet. 1 Et nos tvvvsday, as at the othyr tyme. also now pe hoste come to victoribus lymerik, Reymond lette rere that throw the sege of har enemys semper adhaewas wastid and destrued. and not lange ther-aftyr, he helde rentes, Parlement wyth the kynge of Connaght and the kynge of solum per-Thomonde, both in oo day, but not in oo Place; For the kynge fujientes. De nobis of Connaght helde hym in the watyr of shynnyn, in a myche itaque logh, in botis, and the kynge of Thomonde was thar negh in a confidite, sed vicwold. Reymonde was betwen two at kyldalo, as myght by, tores. syxtene mile from lymerik. Ther was the Parlement So fer forth drywen, that every of ham delyverid to Reymond good fidelitatem hostagis, and othis manyfolde Sworn, holde and trew, in good Anglorum regi et suis Pees forto holde euer aftyr to the kynge and to his. Whan de cetero inviolabithis was don, and Reymond turned agayn with his hostagis to liter exhilymerike, the Prince of Desmonde, Dermot Maccarthy, sende by bendam sacramessagers to Reymonde, and besoght hym that he-agayn his mentis corporaeldyst Sone that hete Cormok Olethan, that wel ney hym out liter praeof his kyngdome Putte,-hym, as the kynges trew man, sholde stitis renovare vaverit. helpe; and large yftys he Promysyd, both to Reymond and the meny, yf thay wolde hym helpe. Reymond, as man that had no ² Multis loth wynnynges, ne hym-Selfe to auctorice, Spake herof to his itaque tum fellowis; and thay al graunted to do as he wolde, and turned the praedis in brevi quam baners toward the contreis of Corke. ² by weyes as thay wentyn, stipendiis, thay rerid many Prayes, Wherof the meny was ful wel appayed familia in partibus and wel arrayed, and mych therof was ofte sende to lymerik. illisabunde refecta, et So longe, that by the helpe of Reymond, Dermot recoverid al his alimenkyngdome vpon his sone, of whom he was ney Putt out / the torum copia Li-Sone was take, and delyuerid to the Fadyr; and he Putt hym mericum abinde in prysone. and not longe ther-aftyr, hym he lette take out of persaepe transmissa. pryson, and smyte of his hede.

A.D. 1176.

Reimund Fitz-Gerald hears from his wife Basile,

that her bad tooth is out.

i.e. that Earl Striguil is dead, tho' his death is kept secret,

Council advise him to quit Limerick, and take his men to Leinster.

mits Limerick to O'Brien, who swears to keep it in peace; but at once breaks his oath. and destroys

[CHAPTER XLIV.]

[Fol. 21a.] The whyle that Reymond was in this maner yn desmon, come a Messager to hym ffrom dyuelyn, hastyly I-sent, & broght hym a lettre from basile, hys wyf; bot he that hyt broght, wyst nat what hyt was. Reymond hadde 4 wyth hym a clerk that he wel tryst to; he lete hym rede the lettre priuelych, that thus myche hym seyde: "To hyre leue lord & hyr spouse Reymond, hys basyle sendeth gretynge. as to hyr selue, wyt thou, lef man, that the grete chek-toth that so sore 8 me oke, ys I-falle. Wherfore, yf thou any thynge recheste of thy self, other of me, ne leue nat to come hastyly to me." Whan Reymond thys herd, he vnderstode that the mych toth that hyr was I-falle, betokned be Erles deth ; for he lefte hym ful seke at 12 dyuelyne, whan he parted from hym. And thegh he lange ther-tofore was ded, for drede of Iresshe-men he was for-hold tyl Reymondes comes, & the meygnees, ynto leynestre. Revmond turned sone to lymeryke. & be sorow that was yn hys hert 16 with-yn, he, for al hyt. as myche as he myght, with favr semblant makynge with-out; & ful fewe men, he shewed the aduentur that Reimund's so sodeynly was byfalle; & of ham that mooste good kouth, he besoght consaylle & rede, what was ham to done. Than was 20 comenly har rede such: "what fore the erles deth, what for Reymondes wendynge out of the lond, that the sytè of lymeryke, that was so fer?, & amonge so many enemyes, me shold leue voyde; & al the meygne holy led ynto leynestre, be townes vpon be see 24 & the castels for to kepe." Reymond, thegh hym loth wer, graunted thys, & stod to har rede; &, for he ne fond none that So he com- aftyr hym wold ther abyde, he betoke Obreen, the kynge of thomon, the Cytè to kepe as the kynges baroun, & toke of hym 28 efte newe hostages, & many new othes I-swore, the toun harmles for to kepe, & the pees trewly for to hold. Vpon thys forward, thay wentten al out of the Cyte, & lefte Obren & hys men with-yn; & vnnethes thay war I-passed the brygge, that be tother end nas 32 I-broken anoon ryght behynd ham, & be toun, that wel & fast was the Bridge. I-walled, & wel I-byld with good housses I-herberged o wyttaylle that on every half bether was I-broght well I-stoffe, nat without

[CHAPTER XLIV.]

The whyle that Reymond was in this maner in Capitulum desmonde, come a Messager to hym frome deuelyn, xliiijm. Hastly sende, and broght hym a lettyr frome basyle, his wyfe; morte but he that hit broght, wyst not what hit was. Reymond hadd comitis Richardi. with hym a clerke that he trust wel to. / He mad him rede the lettyr priuely, bat thus mych hym sayde: "To hir welbelowid lorde and Spouse, Reymond, his basylle sendyth gretynge. as to hyre-Selfe, wit thou, lefe man, that the grete chektoth that so sore me quod dens grewid, is falle; Werfor, yf ye rekyth any-thynge of youre-Selfe, *ille molaris* et magnus, othyr of me, ne leue not to come hastely to me." When Reymond qui tantum this herde, he vndyrstod by the mych toth, that *Hyr was fall, erat, jam Betokenyd the Erlys deth; for He Lefte Hym ful seke at deuelyn cecidit. when he lefte hym. And thegh he lang therto-for was ded, for b. fere of Irysh-men, he was for-holde tyl Reymondes comys and usque ad the menyes, in-to leynystere. Reymond turned sone to lymerike. Reimundi familiand the Sorrow that was in his herte wythin, 1 he, for al hit, as aeque redimych as he cowthe, made fayre semblant without 1; and to ful few 1-1 ertemen he shewid the aduenture that so sodeynly was byfall; and of riorevultus ham that moste good couth, he besoght consayl and rede, what was valde dissiham to done. Than was comynly har consail Such, "what for the mulans. Erlys deth, what for Reymondys² wendynge out of the londe, that the Cite of lymerik, that was so ferre, and amonge so many enemys, that they sholde leue woyde; and al the meny, holy lede Into totamque leynystere, the townes and the castelys vpon the See forto kepe." fumiliam Reymond, thegh loth hit was to hym, gravntyd this, and stode to har rede; and, for he ne found none that aftyr hym wolde byde Duvenaldo there, He yaue Obreyn, the kynge of Thomonde, the Cite to kepe Tuhetmo-niae prinas the kynges barovne, and toke of hym, fryst, new hostagis, and cipi. many new othys Sware, the touñe harmles forto kepe, and the Pees trewely forto hold / Vpon thys, thay wentyn al out of the Cite, and lefte obreen and his men within / and vnnethys thay were 3 aedificits Passyd the brige, that the othyr ende nas brokyn anoone ryght decenter behynde ham; and the toun, that wel and faste was wallid, ³ and wel ornatam, bylid with good houses, I-herbergid of wytalis, that on every halfe undique thedyr was broght wel Stuffid, not wythout gret Sorynys of herte, congestis ² de[parting?] at first written here.

A.D. 1176.

[*Fol. 20

tum hilaritate

integre.

alimentis plane referlam.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XLV). [DUBL. MS.

O'Brien burns Limerick. Richard Fitz-Gilbert, Earl of Striguil, is buried.

A. D. 1176. grêtte sorynesse of hert, thay sawe on four partyes I-sette afyr; & thys the traytour Obren shewed openlych how me shal tryst to Iryshemen trouth. C Reymond, with all the meygne, wentt hym the to dyuelyn; & the Erles body, that by hys byddynge was I-kept 4 vnburyed, [was buryed] yn the modyr-church of be Trynyte, to-for the swete rode, by procurynge of sent laurence, that was yn that tyme erchebysshoppe of dyuelyn.

[CHAPTER XLV.]

Aftyr that be Erle was dede, the kynges mes-8 Henry II's Commissagers, that weren aftyr Reymond I-come, vpon newe sioners go back to aduenturs toke new consaylle. Thay lefte Reymond keper of him. Irland, & wentten ham ynto Engeland hastyly to the kynge, & told hym of the erles deth, & the state of the lond. The kynge 12 Nota the sent than ynto Irlande, Wyllyam aldelinessesone, procuratour of the goodnesse of Geraud. lond, with x knyghtes of hys own priue meygne; & with hym, Ihon Henry II sends Wm, de Courcy with other x; Robert steuenessone & Myles de Cogan, Fitz-Audebat al two yer yn engeland & yn gascoyne nobly hadden with the 16 line and kynge I-be, come það ynto Irland with xxti knyghtes. Tythynges others to Ireland. come to Reymond that thay war arryued; & he anoon-ryght went ayeyns ham with mych gladnesse * & fayr felawshyppe of knyghtes [* Fol. 21 b.]. to Weysford. Ther he yeld vp to Wyllyam, as to Seneschal from 20 Reimund the kynge I-sent, al the kynges townes, & hys castels, & al the vields all his towns ostages of Irland. Wylliam sawe Reymond wyth so many & so and hostfayr yonglynges bylad, & beheld Meyller & other knyghtes of hys ages. His fine kyn, fayr & rychely y-wepned of o maner vepne, wel thrytty, vpon 24 retinue excites ful fay? hors, sheldes about ha? nekkes, & spers yn hand, pleynge Fitz-Audeline's envy, to-geddre ynto al the feldes: he turned hym to hys men, & seyd al soft, "Thys pryd shal be pute In, ar hyt be lange, & bese sheldes to-dreued." Ffro that tyme euer aftyr, these & meste al 28 other proc[ur]atours yn Irland, as thoght hyt wer by on oth togeddre I-swore, through ond & enuy ne stynt neuer to besech Reymond & Meiller, Robertes sones, & Moryce, & al that kynrede, and he always al be enuy that bay myght & durst; for bys ys euermore har 32 works wayte & har aduentur: euer whan grete nede byfelle yn tyme of against Reimund wer, thay war lef & derward, & the formeste to I-clepped, & to and the

Geraldines. bataylle, through hardynes, formest & fyrst redy; whan non ned was,

thay Saw on four Parties sette afyre. And thus the tray-tour A.D. 1176. Obreyn shewid opynly how we shold trust to Iryssh-men trouth // corpus Reymond, with al the meny, went to deuelyn; and the Erlis body comitis quod . . . that by his byddynge was kepte vnburied [was buried] in pe modyr fuerat rechurch of the trynyte, to-for the Swete Rode, by procurynge of ... in ec-Seynt laurance, that was in that tyme Archebyschope of Deuelyn. clesia ... est tumulatum.

[CHAPTER XLV.]

Aftyr that the Erle was dede, the kynges mes- Capitulum sangers, that weryn aftyr Reymond come, vpon new xlvm. Nota the aduentures toke new consail. Thay lefte Reymond keper of goodnys Irland, and thay went into Inglande hastely to the kynge, and tolde of Geral-dynes. hym of the Erle-is deth, and the state of the londe // The kynge Nota de sende than into Irland, Willam Aldelinys Sone, Procuratoure of the adventu Willelmi londe, x. knyghtis of his owyn Pryue meny; And with hym Ihon de Addellini filij, et Cursi, with othyr x; Robert Steuen-es [sone] and Miles de cogan, Iohannis that al two yere in England and in gascoyn nobely haddyn with $\det_{in Hiber-in Hiber$ the kynge be, come than Into Irland with xx^{ti}. knyghtis. Thythynges niam. come to Reymond that thay ware londid; and he anone-ryght went 1 Superagaynes ham with mych gladnys, and fayre felochipp of knyghtes, biam to weysforde. Ther he yaue to Willam, as to Senescal from the hanc, in brevi comkynge sende, al the kynges townes, and his castelis, and al the primam, et clipeos hostages of Irland. Willam Saw Reymond with so many and so istos fayre yonglynges * Bylad, And Be-Helde Meyler and Othyr dispergam. Knyghtes of His Kyn, fayre and riche wepenyd of o maner [*Fol. 21 wepyn, wel xxx^{ti}, vpon ful fayre hors, sheldys aboute har neckys, and sperris in honde, Pleyynge to-gadderes in to al the feldys. He turned hym to his men, and sayde al softe, "This Pryde shal Nota de be Put In¹ ar hit be lange, and this sheldys to-dreued." Fro that $\frac{\text{geraldinis.}}{\text{Nota}}$ tyme euer aftyr, and thes and most al othyr procuratoures in causam invidie Irland, as thegh hit were by one othe to-giddyr Sworne, through inter hate and envy ne stynte thay neuer to malyngne agaynys Reymond filium et and meyler, Robert-es Sonnes and Morices, and al the kynred of geraldinos. geraldines, al the envy that thay myght and durste; for this is euer-more har abydynge and har aduenture: Euer whan grete Semper in nede bifel in tyme of werre, thay wer lefe and derwarde, and the armata militia fryst to be callid for bolnys, and to battail fryst redy; whan no cari.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XLV). DUBL. MS.

A. D. 1176. anoon thay wer loth, & I-pute abake ; her felowshyp I-left yn yurne to harme. Na the wodde of har gentryce, through non enuy ne myght neuer be I-rotet; for euer ham spryngyth new spourges, of whych the myght yn the lond nys nat lytelle. Who beth that 4 Yet the Geraldines kepeth the contreys? the Geraudynes: Who through burleth the won and kept hostes? the Geraudynes: Who ben that fomen adredeth? be Ireland. Geraudines: Who ben that enuy bacbyteth? be Geraudines. Had justice Hade thay I-found prynce yn any tyme, that har stalwarthnesse 8 been done ham had y-yold, as thay worthy wer, yn good pees & stydfast them, they 'd hadden I-broght the state of Irland. Bot thegh thay nededen have held the land in neuer so well, thay ne hade bot lytele thanke, other noon; har peace. trauaylle yuel I-yold, & ouerthrow yn har goodnesse, & mysbeleue 12 & bacbyttynge of har stalwarthnesse; & to other, the prynces trysten, wyt whych no staluarthnese was I-founde, ne no power hadde well to done without helpe & socour of ham. And also Aldelinese-sone, at hys comynge ynto Irland, he wente from toun to 16 Fitz-Audeline toun vpon be see, & progh soght the Cyttes ther plente was of sought his ease, and mete & drynke; bot the monteynes, & be londes with-In, nold he neuer come negh. gold & syluyre, whar-of mych plente was yn be lond, wel hungrylych he gaderede, to helpe-with pledynge & 20 opprest the poor, pullynge of pees men, & nogh of theues ne of reuers. In that not the tyme, about myd-heruest, Moryce fyzt-Geraud deyed, nat without thieves. Maurice gret Sorynesse of al hys, & mych harme & lost to al Irland; ffor Fitz-Gerald dies he was a man methefull, suttell, & stalwarth: trewer man ne 24 about Sept. stydfaster man, ne left he non yn Irland. 🏾 🗰 Wyllyam adelinese-1. No truer man was left in sone ran Moryce sones to harme anon, & ne stynt neuer tyl he Ireland. hadde I-take of hym be Castel of Wykelowe wyth falsnesse. of Fitz-Aude-Reymond & Robert steuenesse-sone, he name the londes that thay 28 line robs Maurice's hadden yn the vale of dyuelyn & yn Ophelayn; & other that sons. hadden londes yn pes, he name thay londes to the kynges behoud, & delyuered ham londes furthyre yn marche, & yn perryll nexth har fomen: al with vnryght, & by hys owne wyll; ffor ther ys 32 No one is so keen as nothynge so bold ne so kene as ys that man that ys of noght an upstart set to rule. I-come, Whan he ys an-hegh I-broght, & vnkyndely I-sette yn maystry. I Wyllyam was a man mych of body, & of makynge; * good met-yeuer; fre & corteys by semblant; bot al that he dyde any 36 [*Fol. 22 ā.]

RAWL. MS. THE GERALDINES PRAISD. DEATH OF MAURICE FITZ-GERALD. 113

nede was anoon they were hatyd and Putte abake, her fellochip A. D. 1176. left and turne to harme. // Na the wodd of har gentryce, through Nota de non envy ne myght, neuer be y-roted, for euer ham spryngyth dynes. new Spourgis, of whych the myght in the londe is not lytell. What ben thay that kepyth the contrayes ? the Geraudynes. Who Qui sunt throw thurly th the hostis ? the geraudines. Who ben that Enemys qui pene-trant hostis dreddyth ? the geraudynes. What ben thay that envy bacbityth ? penetralia? the geraudines. Hade thay found prynce in any tyme that har Note the streynth ham wolde yeue, as thay worthy wer to haue / in good harde adpees and stydfast thay haddyn broght the state of Irland. But Geraldines. thegh thay euer so wel had done, thay hadd but lytyll change, or noone, for her laboure. But euer thay profited in har goodnys; and mysbeleue and bacbitynge, of hare boldnys. And to othyr the Pryncis trystyn, wyth whych no boldnys was founde, ne Power had wel to do / with-out helpe and Socoure of ham // And also Aldelines Sonne, at his comynge into Irland, he went from toun to toun vpon the See-syde, and throw soght the Citteis Nota quo ther Plente was of mette and drynke; but the montaynys and the mortuus londe with-In, he wolde neuer come ney. / golde and syluer, wherof erat ille Mauricius mych Plentey was in the lond, wel hungryly he gadderid to-giddyr, geraldi with pledynge and Pullynge of peese men, and not of theuys ne of filius. Robers. In pat tyme about Mid-heruest, Morice fiz-geraud deyed, Descripcio Maurici fiz not with-out grette Sorrow of al his, and mych harme and lostes to geraud. al Irlande // For he was a man meteful, Suttyl and bolde : trewer (See p. 76. man, ne stydfastyr man, ne lefte he none in Irlande // Willam 7.) Aldelinys sone ran Morices sone to harme, and styntid neuer til he hadd take of hym the castel of Wickelow wyth falsnes. Of fraudu-Reymond and of Robert Steuenes-sone, he toke the londys that lenter eripuit. thay hadd in the vale of Deuelyn, and in Ophelan; and othyr that hadd londis in Pees, he toke thay londys to the kynges be-howe, ¹ Asperius and delyuerid ham landys furthyr in Marche, and in Peril nexte nihil est har enemys, al with vnryght and by his owyn will. For ther is humili, cum surgit nothynge so bolde ne so kene, as is that man that is of noght come, in altum. whan he is an-hey broght, and vnkyndely sette in Maystry 1 // Eutrop. i. Willam was a man mych of body and of makynge, good mete- 181. * yeuer, fre and corteyse By Semblant. But ale that He did any b.]

I

Bad character of William de Fitz-Audeline.

to wyshype al hyt was yn spyinge, felonye, & trecherye; euer he shedde attyr vndyr hony. To-day he wold do the wyrshyps, to-morow he wold the reue & do shendshype; the meke & be lotles he vndedde, be sterne & the hawteyn he plessed; softe with 4 wyld men, & hard with pees men; of favr spech, soft, fals, trecheur; argħ & enuyous, dronklewe & lecheour.

A. D. 1177.

John de Courci sees Fitz-Audeline's rascality.

He gets troops from Dublin ; invades Ulster.

and takes Down. King Mac Donlevy flees.

Legate, Vivian. tries to get rid of

to win or die.

[CHAPTER XLVI.]

Tohan de Courcy saw that al thynge that Willyam dydde was couetise And trecherye, & that he nas 8 nothynge trewe to ham that vndyr hym wer, ne dredlyche to the mysdoynge. he chase hym of the meygne of dyuelyn a few, bot thay wer good & stalwarth & hardy through al thynge, so that he hadde xxtiij knyghtes, fyfty squyers, & fotmen as myght 12 be by ccc, & went hym ynto Vlnester, whare non engeleshe-man I-wepned to-for hym was I-seye. Than was fulfylled a prophecye of Merlyn, that thys seyd: "A whyt knyght, syttynge on a whyt hors, berynge fowles yn hys sheld, shal formest assayll 16 Vlnestre." Thys I thon was a man ful whyt, & rood pan vpon a whyt hors, & bar yn hys sheld, ernes I-peynted. he went hym through Myth & through Vryel thre dayes goynge; & the forth day erlych, come to doune without any lete of any foman. 20 Vnwyttynge he come; In he wente. dyuelyn, the kynge, was shorthlych a-fryght of so derne comynge, left the toun & flow; the meygne, that was myssayse & hungry, fond ther mete & drynke Inowe, & pylfre of gold & syluer & clothes, & eke whar-wyth thay 24 war wel arrayed, & har hert wel comforted. Into the toun was The Pope's than I-come a legat of Rome, that hete Vyuyen, & was y-come out of scotland. Thys legat was youre aboute, pees to make between the kynge & Iohn: myche he spake & mych he hym profred, & 28 De Courci, more he behete, & trewage to beren euery yer to Englyssh-men, by so that he wold the lond leue, & turne ayeyne. Myche he spake ther-of, & mych hym bysoght; bot noght he wold hym hyr, ffor hys who means thoght was al I-turned, the lond for to wyn, or the lyf to forlese. 32 Donleue saw that he, wyth fay? spech ne fayr beheste, noght ne myght spede; he sent anoon aftyr hys folke, & withyn the viij day he gadered to-gyddyr an hoste of ten thousand men, stalwarth

to wyrchyppe, al Hit was in Spyinge, felony, and trechery; euer Descripcio he shed Venym vndyr hony. Tho day he wolde do the wyrchipp ; Willelmi. to-morrow he wolde the rew, and do shenshipp. the meke and the buxum he vndid; the sterne and hawteyn he Plesyd; Softe with wylde men, harde with Pees men; of fayre spech, Softe, fals trechoure; feynte and Envyous, dronklewe and lecherere.

[CHAPTER XLVI.]

Ohan de Cursy Saw that al thynge that willam did Capitulum xlvj^m. was couetyse and trecherye, and that he was nothynge trew to ham that vndyr hym were, ne dredfull to his enemys. He chose hym of the meny of Deuelyn a few, but thay were good and bolde, and hardy through al thynge, So that he hadd xxijti knyghtis, fyfty Squyeres, and footmen as myght be by thre hundrid, and wente hym to vllyster, whar noone Englysh-man wepenyd tofor hym was seyn. Than was fulfillid a prophesy of merlynge, that argent thus sayd: "a whyte knyght, syttynge on a whyte hors, berrynge ij egles dysplayed fowlis on his shelde, shal formyste assayle vllystere." This Ihon gules was a man ful whyte, and rode vpon a whyte hors, and bare in his armed and shelde, ernys y-peyntyd. he went throw myth and throw Vriel thre beaked golde. dayes goynge; and the fourth day Erlych, come to doune, wythout any lette of any enemy. Vn-wyttynge he come; In he wente. Dunleue, the kynge, was schortlych agaste of so suddeyn comynge, lefte the toun and flow; the mayny, that was myssaysid and hungry, founde ther mette and drynke y-now, and Pylfre of golde and Syluyr and clothis, and also wher-with thay wer wel arrayed, and her herte wel confortid. In-to the toun was than y-come a legate of Rome that was callid Vyuyen and was come Romanae out of scotlonde. this legate was besy about, Pees to make sedis legatus. be-twen the kynge and Ihon. mych he spake, and mych he hym multa proferid, and more he promysyd, and trewage to bere every yere to verba sua-Englyssh-men, So that he wolde the lond lewe, and turne agayn. soria nec gretly her-of he spoke and be-soght; but noght he wolde hym hyre; soria pro-For his thoght was al turned, the londe forto wynne, or his lyfe ponebat. for-sake. Dounleue Saw that he, wyth fayre speche ne fayre 1 se verbis promes, nothynge myght spede¹. he send anoone aftyr his Pepill, minime profectuand wyth-in viije dayes he gaddrid to-giddyr an hoste of x. M¹ rum.

A. D. 1177.

crowned

116 THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XLVI). [DUBL. MS.

Mac Donlevy besieges De Courci in Down.

De Courci leaves his corner of the town, sallies out.

fights splendidly,

b.]

backt well by Roger le Poer,

wins.

His men walk up to their knees in Irish blood on the Blimy strand [¹ ?dyn..]

De Courci has his Victory written in Irish.

to fyght, & besegete staluarthly the Cyte of doun per Iohin was In; for yn thys lond, as yn al other, the northeren men ben stordyer & smerter to fight than other. Iohn saw thay hostes comynge to hym-ward: thegh he fewe wer, natheles thay war al hardy & stal- 4 warth he chase; & leuer hym was, out wend, & with streynth to assaye the aduenturs of battaylle, than yn the lytel feble fortelet that he yn & herne of the toun yn so lytel whyle hadde arerede, amyd hys fomen, beseged & hungrod, deye. He went hym out to 8 hard fyght : & whan thay hadde fyrste, from ferr, I-suywed har arowes, thay smytten ther aftyre hertelych to-gydder, sper ayeyne sper, swerd ayeyne sparth ; & many one the lyf ther forlese. Bot who hadde y-sey Iohnes dynttes with swerd, how he smote of pat man 12 be heed from the scholderes, that man the arme & be shuldre from [*Fol. 22 be body, that man the heed I-clouen fer doun * ynto the body, he myght wel sygge that hys myght & hys mayn oght wel be I-prevsed. Thegh many war yn thys fyght that stalwarthly dydden, natheles, 16 Roger the power, that ther-aftyr was of grete myght yn Osserye & yn the Contrey of leghlyn, was the other that best dydde. Aftyr and at last grete fyght & lange, bat the? was of wel vnlyche hostes, at be laste the Iresshe host was ouercome & I-scomfyte; many I-slawe by the 20 see strond whyder-ward they flowen: than was fulfylled a prophecye that Colmkylle seyde of thys fyght: he seyd, 'that so many men shold be I-slaw yn that place, that har fomen myght waden to the knees yn her blode.' & so hyt was than ; ffor as thay flowen to-for 24 ham yn the slyme, thay folweden aftyr & slowen ham; & as thay dyueden adoun, the blode of ham that waren I-slawe, & fleted abouen, toke to be knee of ham that slowen ham. The same prophete seyd also, 'that a pouere mane, & as thoght he wer flow or 28 banshed out of other landes, with lytel folk shold come ynto doun¹, & the toun wynne, wythout soccoure of any herrer'; & other many fyghtes & aduentures of thynge that yn that contray shold betyde, whych al openly wer fulfylled yn Iohn de Courcy. That same 32 boke, Ihon hadde an Iresshe I-wrytte, & was hym ther-aftyr as shewer of al hys dedys. In the same boke was eke I-found, that a man with folke I-wepned shold, with strenynth, the walles of Waterford to-breken ; & with grette slaght of be cytzeynes, the toun 36

men, bolde to fyght / and besegyt boldely the Cite of down ther Ihon was In / For in this lond, as in al othyr, the nordryn men ben sturdier and smyrtyr to fyght than othyr. Ihon Saw the hostys comynge to-wardes hym, and chose; and lewyr was, out wende, and wyth streynth to assay the aduentures of battayl, than in the quam erili lytel feble fortelet, that he in and herne of the toun in so lytel municipio, quod in tyme hadd arrerid, amyd his enemys be be-segid, and to dey with urbis hungyr. he went out to hard fight. and when thay had fryste, tenuiter frome fer shote her arrowys, thay smytten aftyr hertely to-giddyr. erexerat. spere agaynys spere, Swerde agaynys Spare; and many there the lyfe loste. But who had y-sey Ihonys strokys wyth Swerd, how he smote Of that man the hede frome the sholdris, that man the Arme and the shuldyr * frome the body, Hee myght wel Sey, that [*Fol. 22 His myght and His mayn oght Wel to be Praysid. Thegh many a.] wer in this fyght that boldely did, Natheles Rohere le Power, that ther-aftyr was of gret myght in Ossory and in the contrey of leghlyn, was the othyr that best did. Aftyr grete and lange ¹ nimis fyghtynge of wel vnlych hostis¹, at the last, the Irysh hoste was certamine. ouercome and scomfited, and many slayne by the strondis syde per mariwhedyr thay flowe / than was fulfillid a prophesy that colmekyl² ² Hibernici Sayde of this fyght. He sayde, 'that So many men sholde be slayn Kolumbae. Praeglisis in that Place, that har enemys myght wadyn to the knees in her namque blode' / And so hit was than. For as thay fleddyn to-for ham in dum ad the Slyme, thay folwedyn aftyr and kyllid ham; and as thay traret dyuedyn done, the blode of ham that weryn slayne, and fletid humana abow, toke to the knees of them that ham Slavne. The same sitas, Prophet sayde also, 'that a pouere man, and as thegh he were flow lubricae or banshed but of othyr landys, with lytel folke sholde come to sanguis profluus doune, and the toune wynne wyth-out Soccoure of any herrer '; and superficiem othyr many fightes and aduentures of thynge that in that contray tenens, sholde befalle, whych al opynly wer fulfillid in Ihon de Cursy. genua cruraque That same boke, ther-aftyr had Ihon de Cursy on Irysh writte, de focili and was to hym ther-aftyr as merrowre of al his dedys. In be bat. sayde boke is also founde, that a man with pepil wepenyd, sholde with streynth the wallis of watyrford breke; and with grete slaght

angulo

impari . namglisim. mollitie, ponderoterrae pertinge-

wyn: & fro thennes, by Weysford, wend to dyuelyn without any A. D. 1177. St. Columlette; & be cytè wyn: & al bis ys found fulfylled of the Erl: he ba's proseyd eke 'that the Cytè of lymeryke shold of Englysshe-men shold phecies fulfild by De Courci. be twyes I-lefte, & at the thrydde tyme y-hold': & so hyt was, on 4 tyme of Reymond, another of phylepe de Bruse, as hyt openlyer shal be I-shewed yn hys own place. Ther-of be prophecye was thys y-seyd, 'be cytè thrise I-soght, at be thryd tyme shal be I-hold.' Twey grete fyghtes, Iohil ther ledde & wan at doun; that oon aftyr 8 De Courci had Fights I, and 2, at candelmase, as hyt ys I-told, pat other at mydsomyre, wher he, wyth Down; fewe men, ouercome the battaylle of fyftene thousand, & slow of ham ful many. The prydde was at ferly at a pray-takynge: that thay 3. at Fir-lee, where come through a narowe pas, and hadde so styf fyght, & so stronge, that 12 he was hys men was, some y-slawe, & the oper dele so dyscomfyte ynto beaten: al be woddes, that vnneth ther be-left hym wyth aleueth thousande; & he, as man wonderly stalwarth, with so fewe wyth hym, whan thay hadde har hors I-loste, thay went a-fote al 16 y-wepned : a xxx^{ti} myl weye thay helden the fyght of har fomen; & twey dayes & two nyght thay war fastynge, tyl thay come to hys 4. at Uriel; castel. The ferth fyght was yn vryel; ther many of hys weren 5. at Newry I-sley, & the oper descomfyte, & put ham to flyght: the fyfte at 20 Bridge. yueres brygge, as he come wyth fewe men out of England; natheles, ther he ouercome, & slowe ful many, & come hol & sond to hys owne. Thus yn thre grete fyghtes he wan the ouer-hand; & yn twey, thegh he harme tholled, he dydde hys fomen mych 24 more. Iohn was a man whyte & favre ; of lymmes bony & synowy ; Jn. de Courci mych of body; non hardyer than he, stalwarth, & fyghter stronge of described. yought; yn euery fyght the fyrst, & the meste perrylle he wold * euer be In; he was so coueytouse of fyght, & so bernynge whan he 28 [*Fol. 23 a.] hoste lad, & come to fyght, that he neuer wold hym hold as leder, He loved bot wyth the fyrst wold yn smyte, som whyle behynd, ther most fighting, and often perrylle was, that oft al the oste was the vnredver, and thoght that attackt his foe in rear. thay wer ouercome, and al hadden forlore : & thegh he wer yn 32 wepne vnmetly stordy, & sterne, out of wepne natheles, he was meke and sobre, & mych wyrshypped god & holy chyrche, & yn al thynge he leuet god and hys seruyce; & al that hym betyd, he

thanked god that hym the grace sent. He spoused Godefreys 36

of the Citteseynes, the toun wyn: And al this fund fulfillid of the A. D. 1177. Erle. He sayde also that the Cite of lymerike, of Englysh-men ab Anglo-And rum gente bis desetwyes sholde be lefte, and the thyrde tyme sholde be holde. So hit was, on tyme of Reymonde, a-nothyr of Phylip de bruse, rendam, et tertio retias hit opynlyer shal be shewid in his owyn Place. Therof the nendam. prophesy was thus sayde : "The Cite thryse soght, at the thyrde tyme shal be holde," Two grete fyghtis, Ihon ther abode, and ham ouercomyd at doun / that oone aftyr candylmasse, as hit is tolde / that othyr, aftyr mydsomer, wher he, with few men, did ouercome (June 24.) the battail o xv. M[†], and Slayne of ham ful many. The thyrd was at ferly, at a pray takyn : that thay come throw a narrow Paas, and in praedae captione. had so styfe fyght, that his men was, some slayne, and othyr Part so descomfite in-to al the woddys, that vnneth with hym was left M^{\dagger} ; and he, as man woundyrly bolde, with so few with hym, Whan Ipse vero, thay hadd har hors loste, thay went afoote al wepenyd : xxx^{ti} myle virvirtutis invictae, wey thay heldyn the fyght of har ennemys; and two dayes and cum tantillatwo nyghtes thay wer fastynge, til thay come to his castel. the suorum iiij^e fyght was in Vriel, ther many of his were slayn, and the othyr paucitate. dyscomfite, and Put ham to flyght; the v. fyght at yuores bryge, as apud pontem Ivori. he come with few men out of England. natheles, ther he ouercome, and slavne ful many, and come hole and Sounde to his owyn. Thus in thre grete fyghtis he had the ouer-hande; and in two, Descripcio Iohann[is] thegh he loste the ouer-hand, he did his enemys mych more // de Curcy. Ihon was a man whyte and fayre; of lymmes, bony and * Synowy; [*Fol. 22 myche of Body; noone Hardier than Hee; Bolde, and fyghter vir fortis stronge of youth: in euery fyght the fryst, and the meste peril et bellator he wolde euer be In / he was So covetouse of fyght, and So centia. bernynge whan he hoste ladd, and come to fyght, that he hym neuer wolde holde as ledere, but with the fryste wolde smyte, ducem exuens, et Sumtyme be-hynnde, ther more Peril was, that ofte al the hoste militem was the vnredyer, and thoght that thay wer ouercome, and al induens. haddyn for-lore. And thegh he were in wepyn vnmetly sturdy in armis and Sterne, Out of wepyn natheles he was meke and sobyr, and ratus. mych vyrchippid god and holy church, and in al thyng he lowid god and his service; and all that hym befel, he thankyd good that hym the grace sende. He Spousyd Godfredes doghtyr, the kynge

120 THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. XLVII-VIII). [DUBL. MS.

At last, De Courci overcame all foes.

the 4 great Pillars of the Conquest of Ireland had a child.

A. D. 1177. doghter, the kynges of Mane; & aftyr many selcouth battaylles that he dydde, nat wythout grete labour & perrylle of lyf & myche myssayse, at the last he was all aboue, & clenlych hadde ouercomen. He casteled the lond yn couenable places, & such pes made, that non 4 Not one of better ne myght be, ne stedfaster. Bot gret wonder vs. & nat bot as god hyt wold, that thay four grete postès of the conquest of Irland, namely, Robert steuenes-sone, heruy of Mountynorthy, . Reymon le Gros, and Ihon de Courcy, mythten neuer haue 8

> chyldren of her spoused wyues. Thus mych we have shortly I-told of Ihon de Courcy; & the other parte of hys stalwarth gestes, we leueth to wryte to other that ham wrytte wyllen, & turneth ayeyne ther we afore lefte. 12

> > [CHAPTER XLVII.]

Vivian holds a Synod at Dublin, March 13, in Henry

and gives the English leave to take food from churches.

Miles de Cogan with 500 men, invades Connaught.

The Irish take to earthhouses, and burn their buildings.

The Legate Wiuyen, that in-to Irlande was legat I-comen, come to dyuelyn; theder he made come to-for hym al the bysshoppes & the clergye of Irland & held hys senne. ther he shewed openly the kynges ryght of Engelond to Irland, 16 Il'sfavour, & the popes graunt, & hys confyrmacion; &, vp mansynge, forbed lered & lewed, that non neuere so hardy to comen ayeyns the kynges trouth. &, fore the Iresshe-men wer I-woned to don al har vytayllys yn chyrches, he yawe the Englysshe-men leue, that 20 whan me ladde hostes, & myghten nowher elles wytavll fynd, that yn chyrch war I-found, me shold hardyly out take, & yeue the kepers of the chyrch the worth, as ryght wer.

[CHAPTER XLVIII.]

ftyr that, Miles de Cogan, that vnder Aldelinesse- 24 sone was keper & conestable of dyuelyn, wyth fowrty knyghtes, of whych Rolf, Robertes sone, fytz-esteuene, was one, I-sette mayster ouer ham vnder Myles, & two hundret other an hors, & thre hundret bowmen, passeden the water of shynnen, 28 & wentten ynto Connaght, whar Englesshe-men was neuere er comen. The men of Connaght wer I-ware of har comes; thay drowen ham ynto erth-hous many; & al the vytaylle that thay ne myght nat take wyth ham, thay put yn chyrches; & tounnes & 32 chyrches thay setten al afyr & branten. & yn despyte of the Englesshe-men, & yn hope þat god shold take wrech of ham, thay toke

RAWL. MS. VIVIAN'S DUBLIN SYNOD. DE COGAN INVADES CONNAUGHT. 121

of man; and aftyr many Selchouth battalys that he did, not A.D. 1177. wyth-out grete laboure and Peril of lyfe and mych myssayse, And taudem in He arce vicat the last he was al abow, and clenly hadd ouercome. castelid the londe in behowabyll Placys; and Suche Pes made, plene that noone bettyr ne myght be, ne stydfastyr. But hit is grete wondyr, and not but as god hit wolde, that thay iiije grete Postes hi grandes expugnaof the conqueste of Irland, Namely, Robert Steuenes-sone, heruey tionis of Mountmorthy, Reymond le gras / and Ihon de Cursy, myghten Hibernicae neuer haue childe of her Spousyd wyues / Thus mych we haue postes. Shortely tolde of Ihon de Curcy; And the othyr Parte of his bolde gestis, we lewyth to write to otheres that ham write wille, And turnyth agayne ther we afore lefte.

[CHAPTER XLVII.]

VIuyen, that into Irland was legate, come to deuelyn : Capitulum thedyr he made come to-for hym al the bischopis and xlvijm. convocata the clergy of Irland, and helde his Senne. ther he Shewid opynly the Dubliniae kyngis ryght of England to Irland, and the Popis graunte and episcohis confirmacion; and, vpon Payn of Cursynge chargid both lerrid synodo. and lewyd, that noone neuer so hardy to come agaynys the kyngis trouthe. And, for the Irysh-men wer wonyd to do al har vitalys ad ecclesiin churchis, he yaue the Englysh-men leue, that whan thay ladd arum hostis, and myght no vytalis ellys fynde, that that in church were victualia founde, thay shold hardely out-take, and yeue the keperes of the transferchurch the worthe, as ryght were.

[CHAPTER XLVIII.]

ftyr that, Miles de Cogan, that vndyr aldelines-sone was undique et keper and constabil of Deuelyn, with xl. knyghtes, of wych villis igne Rolfe, Robert-es sone, fitz-Steuen, was one, y-sette Maystyr ouer ham combustis; vndyr Milis, and two C an hors, CCC bowmen, Passyd the watyr of alimentis Shynnyn, and went Into Connaght / wher englysh-men was neuer cunctis, therto-forne. The men of connaght wer y-ware of har comynge / hypogeis¹ thay drew ham into Erthe-hous many; and al po wytalis that thay subterne myght take with ham, thay Put in churches; and tounes and abscondere churches thay sette afyre and brantyn¹. and in dyspyte of the rant, simul englysh-men, and in trust that god wold do vengeance on ham, thay cum eccle-

constitutus.

refugia

Capitulum xlviij^m. 1-1 urbibus proprio non potesiis igne consumptis.

The English advance to Tuam, but find no food, and retreat safely to Dublin, beating King on the way.

Fitz-

He got Jesus's

Dublin.

Robert

Dermot Mac-

Carthy,

Cork.

Fitz-Stephen

Ъ.]

A. D. 1177. be rodes crucyfyed, & ymages of halowen, & kesten to-for ham ynto al the feldes. The Englesshe meygne wentten tyl thay come to tuen, & ther thay abodde viij dayes yn bare lond & blote. And whan thay myght no mane fynd, ne nothynge wher-by thay myght 4 lyue, thay turned ayeyne to the shynnen. ther thay found ayeyns ham, Oconghour yn a wodde, wyth thre grete hostes. the Engelesshe boldly smytten vpon ham, & slowe of ham ful many, passeden on, & come to dyuelyn al sound, out-tak pre men, that yn that fyght 8 Roderic of Connaught' weren I-lefte.

[CHAPTER XLIX.]

Yone ther aftyr, Aldelinessone was I-sent aftir Audeline vnto Engelonde, that no good yn Irland dydde goes back to England. bot oon. that, by procurynge of hym, an holy baghell & of 12 grete vertue, that me cleped Ihesus baghel, was I-broght Crosier to from Ardmagh to dyuelyn, & yet ys at the chyrch of the Trynyte: & come * ynto Irland Hugh de Lacy, heye Seneshal of al [*Fol. 23 the lond, & Robert de Power wyth hym, Conestable of Water- 16 Hugh de ford. Myles de Cogan & Robert steuenesson wentten also ouer Laci and Robert le the see vnto Engeland; bot thay comen sone avevne, & phylepe Poer come to Ireland. de Bruse wyth ham; & hadde the kynge I-yeuen ham thre, al the lond of Desmond. Robert & Myles hadden the south Con- 20 Miles de Cogan and trey, that ys to wytten, from lysmore al aboute Corke vii Cantredes, saue the kynge the Cytè of Corke, wyth be next cantrede. Phylype de Bruse, the kynge yaf al the Contrey of get Cork. Philip de lymeryke, saue the Cytè & hys next cantred: these thre I-feffed 24 Bruse has to-gedder, come ouer ynto Irland yn o felewshyppe, & arryueden Limerick. at Waterford, & fro thennes thay wentten to Corke al harmles. Thay war thar fayr receyued of be Cytteyns, & of a knyght that was keper of the Cyte, that hete Rychard of Londone. Whan 28 They force peace on thay hadde I-broght to pees Demot Mac charthy, prynce of desmone, & other many of the contrey of moche power, Robert and myles deled betwen ham the vij cantredes next the Cytè; & felle and divide the townby lot¹ to Robert, thre on the eeste syde; Myles, four yn the weste; 32 lands near mo to the on than to the other, for the lond was wors; the kepynge of the Cytè comune to ham bothe; the renth & the trywage

¹ MS. bot.

RAWL. MS. THE ENGLISH CHIEFS SHARE CORK AND LIMERICK.

toke the roodys crucyfied, and ymagis of Sayntis, and kesten to-for A. D. 1177. ham into al the feldys. The Englis-men wentyn tyl thay come to 1 in hostili tuem, And ther abode viij dayes in bare * Londe ande Blote ¹. And ^{terra.} [*Fol. 23 When thay myght no man fynde, ne nothynge Wherby thay myght a.] lyue, thay turned agayn to the Shynnyn. ther thay found agaynys terram alimentis The vacuam ham / Oconghoure in a wodde, with thre grete hostis. englysh boldely smytten vpon ham, and Slow of ham ful many, tribus inveniens. Passyd ouer, and come to Deuelyn al sounde, out-take thre men tantum arcariis that in that fyght weryn lefte. / amissis.

[CHAPTER XLIX.]

C One theraftyr, aldelines Sone was sende aftyr in-to Capitulum England, that no good in Irland didde but oone, baculum that, by procurynge of hym, an holy baghel and of grete Vertu, that virtuosissiis callid Iesus² baghel, was broght from Ardmagh to Deuelyn, and baculum yet is at the Trynyte church // And come Into Irland Hugh de Jesu vocant. lacy, hey Seneschal of al the londe 3, And Robert de Power with hym 3 generalem Constable of watyrford, Miles de Cogan and Robert S[t]euenes-Sone $\stackrel{Hiberniae}{procura-}$ wentyn ouer the See also in-to England; but thay comyn Sone torem. agayn, and Philip de bruse with hame, and the kynge yaue ham thre al the londe of Desmonde. Robert and Miles haddyn the South contrey, that is to Say, from lysmore al aboute Corke, vije candredes, Saue the kynge the Cite of Corke, with the nexte candrede; Philip de Bruse the kynge yaue al pe contrey of lymerik, Saue the Cite and his nexte Candrede: thes thre, feffyd Transto-giddyr, come ouer Into Irland in oo fellochipp, and londyn at euntes igitur in Watyrford, and fro thens thay wenten to Corke al harmeles. Thay Hiberniam mense wer thar fayre rescewyd of the Citteseynys, and of a knyght that Novembri, was keper of the citte, that was callid Richarde of london. Whan cum trithay hadd broght to pees Dermot Maccarthy, Prince of Desmon, and milia, tres othyr many of the contrey of mych Powere, Robert and Miles delid feodati betwen ham the vij Candredes nexte the Cite; and fell by lotte to simul et Robert, thre on the Este syde ; Miles foure in the weste : mo to the derati. on than to the othyr, for the londe was wors; the kepynge of the Cite comyn to ham both. the rent and the triwage of the othyr

xlixm. mum, quem

plici faconfoe-

is 100 townlands. Robert Fitz-Stephen, Miles de Philip de Bruse go to Limerick. Philip ought to attack Limerick. but funks it. and retreats: a set of scamps in his force.

The Council of Lateran, March 1179, 3 eclipses in 3 years

Miles de Cogan and his son-inlaw go to Lismore,

and are treacherby Mac Tire. The Irish * Fol. 24 a.]

A Cantred of the other four & xx cantredes, as hyt wold falle, euvn to dele betwen ham: & ys a cantrede to sygge, an hundret ton lond. Whan thys was I-don, thay wentten wyth Phelype to lymeryke. Robert hadde wyth hym xxxti knyghtes & lxti sweynes; Myles, xxti 4 Cogan, and knyghtes & fyfty squyers; Phelype, xxti knyghtes & xlti squyers; & fotmen wyth euery of ham ful many: they came to the Cytè, & noght was between ham bot the watyre of the shynnen; & Robert & Myles baden Phylepe to wend ouer & assaylle the 8 toun; othyr, yf hym leuer wer, to rer hym a castele vpon the same watyre afor the toun. Phelepe, thegh he knyght wer stalwarth & hardy yn hym selue, natheles, throgh feble consaylle he has such of ham that wyth hym, wer he chase; & mych leuer hym was, leue 12 the Contrey, & harmles turne ayeyne to hys own, Than amonge so many fomen & so fer londes, yn so grete perrylle to abydde; & that no wonder nas, thegh hym yn thyke vyage mys byfelle, that so many lydder men, theues, & manslaghtres of the marche 16 of Wales-& thay to-fore al other-hadde I-chose & I-draw to hys felewshyppe. Noght lange ther-aftyr, Meredus, Robertes sone, yonge knyght & stalwarth, nat wyth-out myche wepynge & sorow of many, deyed yn the Cytè of Corke. That whylle, was I-hold 20 at Rome the consaylle of latran, that men so moche speketh of, vonder the pope Alyxsandyr the thyrdde. & was wyth-yn thre yer, thre eclypses of the sone. I Whan Robert steuenesson & Myles of Cogane, wel fyfe yeyr, al desmone yn good pees hadden 24 to-gyddyr I-holde, Myles & hys Othome Rauf, Robertes son, that a lytyll ther-to-fore hadde hys doghter I-spoused, wentten to the contrey of lysmor, to hold parlement wyth ham of Waterford. & as thay saten yn the feldes abydynge aftyr ham, 28 Mactyr, that theder was wyth ham I-come, & wyth whom thay sholden that nyght 1 be I-herbrowed, vnwyttyngly smot vpon ously slain, ham behynd, & ham both, wyth fyue other knyghtes, ther slowen wyth sparthes; & other fewe that wer wyth ham vnneth escaped. 32 Throgh that thynge, al the contrey forth ther-aftyr worth so I-storbet, that Demot Maccarthy & al the hegh men of * the then rebel. contray, forth wyth Mactyre, ayeyne har trouth, wyth-drowend ham

¹ MS. myght.

foure and xx^{ti} candredes, as hit wolde falle, euen to dele be-twen ham // And a Candrede is as myche to Say as, an hundrid toun- Quid est candreda. londe // Whan this was don, thay wentyn with Philip to Lymerike. tanta Robert had wyth hym xxx^{ti} knyghtes and xl. Squyeres ; Miles, xx^{ti} terrae portio, knyghtes, l. Squyeres; and Philip, xx. knyghtys and xl. Squyeres; and quanta centum footmen with every of ham ful many. Thay came to the Cite, and villas continere noght was betwen ham but the watyr of the Shynnyn. And Robert solet. and Miles badyn Philip wende ouer, and assayle the toun; Othyr, yf hym leuer were, to rere hym a castel vpon the same watyr afor 1-1 pusillathe toun. Philip, thegh he was knyght bolde and hardy in hym-Selfe, nimi tamen natheles, ¹throgh febil consail of them that wyth hym, were he chose ; *consilio*. potius and myche leuer hym was, leue the contrey, and harmeles turne indemnis ad sua agayn to his owyn, Then amonge so many enemys, and in so fere reverti, londys, in So grete Peril to abyde ¹. and that no wondyr nas, thegh $\frac{quam \ in}{terra \ tam}$ hym in thylke vyage mys-be-felle, that ² So many wyckyd men, con-hostili tamque dicones and manequelleres of the marche of Walis (and thay to-for remota fortunae al othir) hadd y-chose and y-draw to his fellochipp. Not longe tentare theraftyr, Meredus, Rober[t]es-sone, yonge * Knyght and Bolde, not pricela praeelegit. with-out mych wepynge and Sorrow of many, Dyed in the Cite of [* Fol. 23 b.] Corke. That tyme, was holde at Rome 3 the consail of latran, that 2 viros men of mych Spekyth, vndyr the Pope Alysandyr the thyrde. and homicidas, seditiosos was within iije yere, iije Eclipsis of the Sonne⁴. Whan Robert ac flagitiosos. Steuenes-Sone and Miles de Cogan, wel ve yere al Desmond in good 3 sedit pees hadden to-gaddyr holde, Miles, and his Sone-in-law, Raufe, 4 non Romae. Robert-es Sone, that a lytel thertofore to his doghtyr had spousid, generales tamen. sed wenten to the contrey of lysmore, to holde Parlement with ham of partiales. watyrforde. and as thay Satyn in the feldys abydynge aftyr ham, Mactyre, that thedyr with hame was come, and with whome thay sholde A. D. 1182. be that nyght logide, Vnwyttyngly Smote vpon ham; and ham both, improvisis wyth v. othyr knyghtes, thay Slayn wyth Sparres; and othyr few that a tergo were with ham, vnneth escapid. Throght that thynge, al the contrey interempti. was in were, So that Dermot Maccarthy and al the hey men of the Contrey forth with Mactyre, agayne har trouth, withdrowen al frome

Robert Fitz-Stephen is attackt by Irish rebels. (The North Irish are true, and fight; the South are false, and trick.) Reimund Fitz-Gerald sails to Cork to help him.

They put down the rebellion.

> A. D. 1182-3. _____

There come to Ireland, Cogan in 1182; and in 1183, Philip de Barry, and Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote 3 books on Ireland.

Hervey of Mountmaurice turns monk.

A. D. 1182. al from the Englysshemen, & turned vpon Robert steuenes-sone, that oft hadde harde happes assayed; & neuer eft, tyl Reymond to hym come, and helpe hym for to wyn the londe & worth to herytage ; ffor Robert ne myght nat pees haue, as he rather hadde. 4 As the northren me[n] loueth fyght, also the southren, falsness; thay trusteth to streynth, these to sleghtes; thay to staluarthnesse, these to traysoune. Whan Reymond herd that Robert was so narow byladde yn the toun of Corke, wyth hys fomen al 8 about beseget, he put hym to shyppe yn the hauen of Watvrford. wyth xxti knyghtes & squyers, & bowmend, wel ccc; leftene the lond al on the ryght hond, & wentten about by the see, fort he come to Cork, to gaddre hele to hys frendes, & vnhele to hys 12 fomen. Aftyr many & selcouth camplynges, many of har fomen thay slow, & many out of contray thay dryue, & the moste parte & the beste come to pees; & so the grete tempeste of that weddyr hape, yn lytel whyle was I-queynt & I-stylled. 16

[CHAPTER L.]

Tat longe ther aftyr, come into Irland Richard de Cogan, Miles brother, wyth fair meygne Richard de from the kynge I-sent ; & ther-aftyr, yn the begynnyge of Marce, come Phylype de barry, a man slegh & staluarth, wyth moch 20 folk & fayr, both for to help Robert & Reymond, & for to castely hys lond of Olethane, whych Robert hym hadde I-yeue; and yn the same flot come Maystyr Geraud, that phelypees brother & Robertes neueu, ful good clerk, & a mail that al the 24 conqueste, & be state, & be wondres of Irland, & the kyndes of pepel from the begynnynge, ful Inly soght & oft greped, & thre bokes ther-of maked wyth grete trauayl, fywe yer that he was ther. about that tyme, heruy of Mountnorthy yeldet hym monke 28 at crystes chyrch yn cantyrbery, to whych he hadde thar-toforne I-yeue hys chyrches of hys lond be Waterford & Weysford. Wold god that he hadde I-chaunget hys culuertnesse and he dydde hys knyghthode, and trecherye as he dydde hys 32 clothynge¹.

> ¹ Qui utinam sicut habitum, sic et animum, sicut militiam sic et malitiam deposuisset.-Gir. Camb. Op. v. 352.

RAWL. MS.] IRISH REBELS DEFEATED. GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS IN IRELAND. 127

the Englysh-men, and turned vpon Robert Steuenes-Sone, that ofte A. D. 1182. had harde Aduenturis assayed; and neuer efte, til Reymond to hym donec Reimundus, in come and helpyd hym forto wyn the londe and broght to heritage; heredi-For Robert ne myght not pees haue, as he radyr hadd. As the tatem patruo Stenortheryn men lowyth fyght, also the Southeryn, falsnys : ¹ thay phanidae succedens, trustyth to Streynth, thes to sleghtes; thay to boldnys, thes to urbis traysone¹ // When Reymonde herd that Robert was So narrow by- custodiam solus ladde in the toun of corke, with his Ennemys al about besegid, he obtinuit, Put hym to shipp in the hawyn of watyrword with xx. knyghtes and plene] pris-Squyeris and bow-men wel CCC, leften the londe al on the ryght $\frac{tinam}{pacem}$ hande and wentyn aboute by the See, fort he come to corke, to recupe-Aftyr ravit. grette gladnys to his frendis, and Sorrow to his ennemys. many and selcouth Camplyngys, many of har enemys thay haue Slayne, and many out of contray thay dryuen; and the meste Parte and the beste come to Pees; and So the grete tempeste of that weddyr hapid, in lytil whyle was broght to an ² ende. /

[CHAPTER L.]

NOt longe ther-aftyr, come Into Irland Richard Capitulum de Cogan, Miles-is brothyr, with fayre maynny frome the kynge y-Sende, and ther-aftyr, in the begynnynge of A. D. 1183. Marce, come Philip de barry, a man sley and bolde, wyth mych pepill and fayre, forto helpe both Robert and Reymond, and forto castel his londe of olethane, whych Robert hym hade yeue. And Stephain the same flytte come Maystyr Geraude, that Philippes brodyr nidae and Robert-is Eme, ful good clerke, and a man that al the conquest Philipand the state and the wondris of Irland, and the kynde of Pepill frater, from the begynnynge, ful Inwardly soght, and thre bokys therof tam avunmakyd wyth grette trauayll, v. yere that he was ther-aboute // quam About that tyme, Heruey of Montmorthy yeldyd hym monke at fratrem crystes church in cantyr-berry, to whych he had therto-forme yeue consilio his churchis of his lond betwen Watyrforde * And Weysforde. [*Fol. 24 Wolde god that he hadd y-chaunged His culuertnesse as he didd a.] his knyghthode, and his trayson as he didd his clothynge //

1-1 Illa laudis, haec fraudis cupida; illa Martis, haec artis ope confisa; illa viribus nititur, hacc versutiis; illa praeliis, hacc proditionibus.-Op. v. 350.

² and, MS.

A. D. 1182.

et alius nepos culum plurimum THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. LI). [DUBL. MS.

Hugh de Laci castles Leinster and Meath.

and makes such peace that men till their land.

He so attracts the Irish, that he is suspected of aiming to be their King.

A. D. 1181. John, Constable and

[* Fol. 42 b.]

Many castles are built.

Meiler gets Kildare, but changes it for Leix.

A. D. 1177. The while that this was thus in Desmone I-done, Hugh de Lassy, as man that queynth was & staluarth, both leynester & meth¹ nobely casteled, & yn many places ther other faylled to-for hym; & fayn was about, to setten 4 yn har londes, Thay that wyth streynth & vnryghtly weren out I-dryue, both englysshe & Iresshe; so that, yn lytyll stond, was so good pees that men arreden & tylleden har londes, and the lond ynto al wel I-stored wyth corne. he drogh to hym 8 slegthlych, wyth wyrsshype doynge, & stydfaste forward makynge, the heghest of the lond folk; from place to place byled the lond wyth castel; & yn lytyll whyll, so good pees made, toke of other, & auaunced hys owne ryuely, & rych ham maked. 12 The folk of Irland, wyth frenesse & sleghtes, drogh so, & allyed to hym, that men hadden grete ortrow vpon hym, that he, avevne the kynge & hys owne trouth, wold make hym self kynge I-crouned of the lond. As thys was, & mych spech yn]² of thys 16 thynge, comon ynto Irland twey knyghtes from the kynge I-sent,that oon heet Ihon, the conestabel of chestre, & that other, Rychard of the pek,-for to receyue the kepynge of Irland, & that hugh shold wend ouer ynto Englond to the kynge; both har 's he 20 of Chester, ouer went, by comyn red of ham al, thay arrereden yn that Richard de somyr many castells yn leynester; ffor ar that, Myth * was wel Pec arrive. castelled, & leynestre bot lytyl. That pay rereden a castel to Reymond, yn forthred Onolan; Another to Gryffyne hys brother; 24 the thyrde, yn Omurthy, to Water de rydlesford a kylka; the ferth, to Iohn the herford, at Tyllagh yn felmeth, & other many. Meyller hadde that tyme kyldar of the erles vifte, & the contrey Fitz-Henry about; bot that me toke of hym for oo coste, & yaf hym be 28 contray of leys as yn chaunge. for hyt was smert lond, woddy, & of Marche, & ferr, me sette hym thar as man of marche, that I-nowe couth theron.

¹ MS. moch.

² Space left for a word. A later hand has written something which is illegible. The Latin has only 'fama': see opp. and Gir. Camb. Op. v. 355.

³ but ere : Sed antequam.

[CHAPTER LI.]

The Whyle that this was thus done in desmond, Capitulum lim. Hugh de Lacy, as man that sly was and bolde, Hugo vero both leynyster and myth nobely he castelid, and in many Places de Laci, summa ther othyr falid to-for hym; and fayne was aboute to Settyn in har solicitudine, victos londes, Thay that wyth Streynth and vnryght / were out-drywe, ab aliis, both Englysh and Irysh, So that, in lytel whyle, was So good Pees et violenter a finibus that men Erredyn and tilledyn har landys, and the lond Into al ejectos, ad wel Storid with corne. he drew to hym Slyly, with wyrchipp revocans. doynge and Stidfast forward makynge, the heghest of the lond- eisdem olim Pepyll; and frome Place to Place byled the lound with castelis; deserta and in lytyll Whyle, so good Pees made, toke of othyr, and tam armentis auaunced his owyn ryuely, and ryche ham made. The Pepill of pascua, Irland, wyth frenes and sleghtes, drow So, and allied to hym, that ruricolis men haddyn grete exstymacion vpon hym, that he, agayn the kynge restituit. and his owyn trouth, wolde make hym-Selfe kynge y-crouned of the londe. As this was, and mych Spech in taale of thys thynge, comen et prae-Into Irland, two knyghtes from the kynge y-sende : that oone was *notatae* suspicionis callid Ihon, the Constabill Of cestre, and that othyr, Richarde of the fama crebrescente. Peke, forto rescew the kepynge of Irland; and that hugh Sholde wend ouer Into Englande, to the kynge. but ar he ouer wente, by comyn assente of ham all, thay arreredyn in that Somer many castelys in leynyster; For ar that, Mythe was well castelid, and leynyster but lytell. That thay reredyn a castell to Reymond in [1 The fothred o nolan¹; Anothyr to gryffyn his brodyr; the thyrde in ² ^{O'Nolan's} harony of Omurthy, to water de redelesford at kylka; the iiije. to Ihon the Fothurtu, now Forth. herford, at Tillagh in felmeth, and othyr many. Meylere hadd that in Carlow,] tyme kyldare of the Erlis yfte, and the contrey about; but that thay exparte regis, tantoke of hym for oo Purpos, and yaue hym the contray of leys in quam in chaunge. for hit was wille londe and woddy, and of Marche, and excambium ferre, thay sette hym there as man of Marche, bat y-now kouth lerunt. theron.

² MS to. Lat.: tertium in Omurethi, Gualtero de Ridenesfordia, apud Tristerdermoth; quartum Johanni de Clahulla super aquam Beruae, non procul a Lechlinia: quintum Johanni Herefordensi apud Collacht.-Op. v. 355. 129

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. LII-LIII). [DUBL. MS.

[CHAPTER LII.]

A. D. 1181-2.

Hugh de Lacyissent back to rule Ireland; and John of Salisbury with him. He builds Castles.

Wy han this was I-don, in the somyr Hugh wente owr in-to Engelande. Aveyne the wyntter the kynge toke of hym sykernesse, & sent hym sone aveyne keper of Irland, as he rather was sette; wyth hym a clerk, Robert of 4 slepsbery¹, that shold hym be an help & consaylle, & wytnes of hys deddes. At thys comynge, hugh arered manye castells: On to Meyller at tachmeho, & than he yaue hym hys nece to wyue; another thar negh, yn Oboy, to Robert de Bygaz; & 8 other many, both yn leynestre & yn Myth, that longe hyt war to namy al by name.

[CHAPTER LIII.]

Nota de lupo confitente. A priest is askt to

- shrive a sick woman.
- He finds a sick wolf,
- who talks to him:

he shrives her.

of the turnd her into a wolf.

About that tyme, befel a wonder aduentur yn a wodde of Myth, of a preste that yede by weyes; 12 & as he come through that wodde, come a man ayeyns hym, & badde hym, for goddys loue, that he shold wend wyth hym for to shryue hys wyf, that lay seke per negh. The preste turned wyth hym; & what he come somdel negh, he herd gronynge 16 and wonynge, as thegh hyt wer of a woman; & whan he come ryght to, than was hyt a wolf that lay ther & groned. pe preste that saw, & was wel sore aferd, & turned hym aweyward: the man and the wolf both spake to hym, & bad hym that he ne 20 shold nat be adredde, & that he shold turne to shryue hyr. The preste than toke herth to hym, & blessyt hym, & yede sytte besyde hyr: & the wolf spake to hym, & shroue to be preste. & whan thay hadde pat I-dow, be preste bethoght hym, and thoght that 24 thynge that was forshape, & hade gras to spek, that hyt myght also wel haue grace & ynsyght of other thynge. he sette to, & asked of the out-comen men that ynto the lond wer comen, howe hyt For the sins shold be of ham. The wolf answard & seyd, that 'for the syn 28 Irish, God of be lond-folke, almyghty gode tok wreche of ham, & sent that folk for to brynge ham yn thraldome; & so thay shold be tyl the same folk war efte encombret whyth 2 syn; & than thay shold have power for to done ham the same wrech, for har 32 synnes.'

¹ I. e. salopsbery, Salisbury.

² MS. whych.

RAWL. MS.] HUGH DE LACY BACK IN IRELAND. THE WOLF-WOMAN.

[CHAPTER LII.]

7 Han this was done, In the Somer Hugh went Capitulum lij^m. ouer Into England. agayn the Wyntyr, the A. D. 1181-2. kynge toke of hym Surte, and sende hym Sone agayn kepere of Irland, as he to-for was. Sende with hym a clerke, Robert of Roberto ... Slepsbery, that to hym sholde be helpe and consayl, and wytnes of Salopes-buriensi his dedis. At this comynge, Hugh lette make many castelis. On to Meyler at tachmeho, and than he vaue hym his deth to rescew [!] cui et neptem Anothyr thar ney, in Oboy, to Robert de Bigaz; and Othyr many, suam tune both in leynystere and in Myth, that longe hit were to reherse ham dedit uxorem. al by name.

[CHAPTER LIII.]

About that tyme, befel a merwelos aduenture in Capitulum liijm. a wodd of Myth, of a Preste that went by weyes. Nota de And as he came throw that wodd, came a man agaynes hym¹, and ^{lupo con-}fitente. Prayed hym for the lowe of god, that * He sholde go wyth Hym [*Fol. 24 forto shrywe Hys wyfe, that Lay seke ther-By. The prest turned [See Gir. wyth hym; and whan he came Somdel ney, he herde gronynge Camb.'s and con-Playnynge, as hit were of a woman; and whan he came Topo-graphia, there wher she lay, than was hit a wolfe, that lay there and ch. 19, Op. gronyd. the prest that Saw, and was sore aferde, and turnyd hym gives the to goo / the man and the wolfe both spake wyth hym, and bade story, with different hym that he sholde not be afferde, and that he sholde turne to details.] shryw hyre. The Prest toke herte to hym, and blessid hym, and ²Sin autem, wente and satte be-syde hyre. And the Wolfe spake to hym, and quia proconfeste hyr to the preste. and whan thay hadd that done, the preste clivis est cursus ad bethoght hym, and thoght that thynge that was in myse-lyckenys, voluptates, And hadd grace to speke, that hit mygh[t] also wel have grace and trix natura Insyght in othyr thynge. He enquerid of the strangeres that were vitiorum, ad nostros come Into londe, how hit sholde be of ham? The wolfe answerid ex convictu and sayde, that ' for the synne of the londe-pepil, almyghty god was descendisplesyd wyth ham, and sende that Pepill to brynge ham in derint, divinam in thraldome; and So thay sholde be, thil the Same Pepill were aftyr se quoque encombrid wyth Synne². And then thay sholde have Power to do proculto ham the Same Wrechydnys, for har Synnes.'

v. 101 : it et imitamores forte vindictam provoca-

bunt.

¹ ecce lupus ad eos accedens. Gir. Camb. Op. v. 101.

К 2

132 THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. LIV-LVI). [DUBL. MS.

[CHAPTER LIV.]

1180–6. Henry II's sons again rebel.

A.D.

Prince Henry dies, 11 June 1183: Geoffrey dies 19 Aug. 1186. St. Laur-

ence, Archbp. of Dublin,

dies at Eu 14 Nov. 1180, [*Fol. 25 a.]

after having prophesied his death there.

John Comin is next Archbishop, A. D. 1181. He is consecrated at Velletri, A. D. 1182.

Henry II gives Ireland to his son John. Nat longe theraftyr, be yonge kynge henry, the old kynge henryes sone, & his brother Geffrey, the Erl of bretaynge, wyth-out many hegh men of thys half be see, and yen half that ham weren an help & consaylle, the thyrde tyme 4 ayeyne hys fader began to aryse; bot sone theraftyr, as thegh hyt wer throgh wrech of god, thay bothe deyeden, the on about mydsomyr at Marcelle—& bat was the yonge kynge,—& be erl sone theraftyr deyed eke at parys: and thys be kynges werr 8 ayeynes his ¹ sones was y-endet.

[CHAPTER LV.]

Nder this, laurence, Erchebisshope of Dyuelyne, (that at the consaylle of the latran hadde I-be, & as me seyde, ther he hadde purchased avenus the 12 kynge for loue of hys lond-folke, whar-of the kynge hadde grete ortrow vp-on hym, wher-for he lete hym of hys passage ynto Irland,) the xviij kalends of december, deved at Ove yn normandye; a good mane and holy; & bat, gode almyghty sheweth, 16 by many myracles pat he openly doth for hym. Me * rede eke of hym, that he was seke thre dayes ar he thader come; and whan he sawe our lady-chyrch, that ys the modyr-chyrch of the toun, he seed thys vers of the psauter, as prophecye, through 20 be holy goste: 'Hec Requies mea in seculum seculi' et cetera: & ys thus mych to sygge an-englysshe, 'Thys ys my reste, world wyth-out end; her I wyll wonne, for I hyt haue I-chose.' I Aftyr hym, was Erchebysshop of dyuelyne, Ihon comyn, a 24 man of England borne; & yn England, at euesham, of the clergye of dyuelyn (by quevntyse and procurment of the kynge), by on accorde I-chose; & of the pope lucye, at the Cyte of Wellet, theraftyr I-hodet & I-sacred; a man, good clerke & ryghtful; & by 28 hys myght, mych ryght laked þe stat of holy chyrch yn Irland.

[CHAPTER LVI.]

The kynge henry, as he there-to-fore hadde I-thoght, yaue the Lond of Irland to hys yongeste sone, Iohn by name; & what he hyt hadde hym I-yeue, 32 ' overlined luter. [CHAPTER LIV.]

Not longe ther-aftyr, the yonge kynge henry, the Capitulum olde kynge henryes Sone, and his brodyr Geffery, the Erle of brytayne, with othyr many hey men of this halfe the see, and yen half that ham weryn an helpe and consayl, the thyrde tyme agayn his fadyr be-gan to arryse; but Sone ther-aftyr, as hit were throgh Sentence of god, thay both died, the one aboute Midcum electa somyre at Marcelle, and that was the yonge kynge; and the Erle Sone ther-aftyr diede also at Paris: and thus the kynges werre juventute. agaynes his Sonnes was Endyd.

[CHAPTER LV.]

VNdyr this laurance, Archebischope of Deuelyn, Capitulum (that at the consail of the Latran hadd I-be, and as thay Sayde, ther he had Purchasid agaynes the kynge for loue of his londe-Pepill, wharof the kynge had grette artrow vpon hym, Wherfor he lette hym of his passage in-to Irland,) the xviij kalends 14 Nov. of Decembyr died at Oye in Normandy, a good man and holy, and 1180. that god almyghty Shewid many Miraclis for / that he opynly doth for hym. We rede also of hym, that he was seke iije dayes ar he thadyr came; and whan he Saw our Ladyes churche, that is the modyr churche of the toun, he sayde this vers of the Sawter, as prophesy throw the holy goste : "Hec requies mea in seculum seculi : Hic habitabo ¹, quoniam elegi eam." And is thus mych to Say in Englysh, "This is my reste, worlde wythout Ende. Her y wyl dwele, for y hit haue chose " // Aftyr hym, was Archebischope A. D. 1181. of Deuelyn, Ihon Comyn, a man of England borne; and in England, at eucsham, of the clergi of deuclyn (by queyntyse and procurment of the kynge), by oone acorde chose; and of the Pope Lucie, at the ² ecclesiae Cite of wellet, ther-aftyr y-hodet and y-Sacrid; a man, god clerke, statum and ryghtful, and by his myght / mych ryght lakyd the state of egregie subliholy churche In Irland². masset.

[CHAPTER LVI.]

THe kynge Henry, as he there-tofor hadd thoght, Capitulum yaue the londe of Irland to his yongest Sone, Ihon by [Fol. 25 Name. And whan he hit hadde hym yeue, he Sende the Arche-^{a.]} ' habitobo, MS.

Archbp. Comin^{is} sent to Ireland: Hugh de Lacy is recald, and Philip of Worcester takes his place. He took tallage of all, and curses with it.

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A. D. 1184. he sent be Erchebysshope of dyuelyn ouer be see, to ordeyn aveyne hys sones comynge. & sone aftyr pat, hugh de lassy was I-sent aftyr ynto Englond; and come ynto Irland, Phelype of Wyrcestre, procurato[ur] of be lond, with fourty knyghtes; a man that was 4 good knyght, curteys, & good mete-yeuer; bot oper good ne dydde he noon, saue bat he went from contray to contray, & asked, & wyth streynth toke, both of letred & of lewed, be cursed tallages of gold & of syluer. & I wnderstond that he neuer good 8 dydde perwyth; ne neuer mane shalle, that so catell gadereth; for many crystes curs, & trew mannys & womannes, pouer & ryche, thay gadereth eke per-wyth: & wel vnsyker may man be, to do hys lyf yn aduentur wyth ham that catel so wynnethe. 12

[CHAPTER LVII.]

The fyrst comynge of kynge John ynto Irland. He lands at Waterford 25 April,

1185.

conquer the land before him deserve all praise.

Nota the kyng his tytyle to Irland.

Fitz-Stephen and Striguil had good right to come to Ireland.

Than the kynges sone hadde arayed al dynge that nede was, for to come yn-to Irland, he put hym to saylle at Melyford, a ferth estre day. he hadde good wynd, & a-morow arryued at Waterford, wyth thre hun- 16 dret knyghtys, & other an-hors, & a-fote ful many. he arryued, the yer of hys old .xxij.; of hys faderes comynge ynto Irland .xiij.; of the Erles comynge .xiiij.; of Robertes comynge, fytzsteuen .xv.; the yeer of owr lordes Incarnacion .M. C. 1xxxv. 20 Steuenes-sone was forman, & opened the wey to be Erl; the Those who Erl to be kynge; the kynge to hys sone; & mych hyt ys to preyse, & grete thynge he began, that fyrste ynto Irland so boldly come, the thynge to begyn. Moch also to preysene, he, that 24 aftyr the begynnynge, so nobely come for to eche thynge that was begon; & most of al to preysen, he that al thynge fulle endet, & the lordshype clenlych wan ouer al other [Hy. II]. Her, men mowen well vndrestond, that the Englesshy-men ne came nat 28 wyth so mych vnryght yn-to Irland as many folk weneth; for Robert, steuenes-sone, & be Erl, wyth good ryght come to Macmorgh ynto leynester; the on, hys trouth for to hold, & hym for to helpe; that other, for love of hys doghtre; nathles, of 32 Waterford, ne of Myth, ne of Desmon, whych the Erl at the begynnynge name to hym, & conquered out of leynestre, ne sey I noght that he hadde al fully ryght ther-to. Bot of the fyft

RAWL. MS. PRINCE JOHN ARRIVES IN IRELAND.

bischope of Deuelyn ouer the see, to ordeyn agayn his comynge. A. D. 1184. And Sone aftyr that, hugh de Lacy was Sende 1 into England; And come Into Irland, Philipp of Wircestre, procuratour of the londe, [Philip, with fourty knyghtes; a man that was good knyght / curteys, and in his expedition goode mete-yeuer; but othyr good ne did he noone; Saue that he to Armagh,] went from contray to contray, and askyd, and wyth streynth toke, a clero both of lerid and lewid, the cursid tollagis of golde and Syluer. sacro auri tributum And I vndyrstonde that he neuer good did ther-with; ne neuer man execrabile shall, that So good gadderid; for many crystis curs, and trew manys exigens and womannys, Pouer and rych, thay gadderid also ther-wyth : and quam wel vnsure may a man to be, to do his lyfe in aduenture wyth them $-O_p$.v. 360. that So goode doth gette.

[CHAPTER LVII.]

Than the kynges Sone hadd arrayed al thynge Capitulum that nede was forto come Into Irland, he Putt hym to Sayl at Milleford the iiije day aftyr Estyr. He had good wynde, The fryst and amorrow londid at Watyrforde, wyth CCC knyghtes, and othyr $_{\rm kynge}^{\rm comyng}$ of an-hors and a-foote ful many. he londyd, the yere of his age xxij, lhow Into Of his faderis comynge Into Irlande xiij, Of the Erlis comynge xiiij, of Roberes comynge fitz Steuyn xv, the yere of Oure lordys Incarnacion M[†]. Clxxxv. Steuenes Sone was the fryst man, And [Op. v. oppenyd the wey to the Erle: the Erle to the kynge; the kynge to 3^{8_2} his Sone; and gretly he is to Preyse, and grete thynge he began, that Multum fryst in-to Irland So boldely come, the thynge to begyn ; gretly also tulit qui he is to Preyse, that, aftyr the begynnynge, so nobely come forto ausu nobili execute the thynge that was begon; And moste of al he is to pium Preyse, that al thynge full Endyd, and the lorchip clenly conquesyd dedit. ouer al othyr // Here men mowen wel vndyrstond, that the Eng- Nota the lysh-men came not wyth so mych vnryght into Irland as many kyngys pepill wenyth. For Robert Steuenes-Sone and the Erle come to Irlande. Macmurgh into leynystre; that oon, on his throuth forto holde, and hym forto helpe, / that othyr, for loue of his doghtyr. Natheles, of Watyrford, ne of Mythe, nethyr of Desmon, wych the Erle at the begynnynge toke to hym and conquerid out of leynystre, I Sey not ? quintae that he hadd ful ryght therto. But of the fryst Parte of the londe ? portionis ¹ Sende aftyr, MS.

extorquens.

lvijm.

Irlande.

ergo con-

princi-

Henryll's parte of the lond that was the Erles through hys wyf, The fivefold lordshype clenly be erl yaf the kynge; & al be prynces of the right to lond ther-aftyr, by har good wyll, yolden ham to the kynge, to Ireland: I. All the be euermor sugget to hym & to hys. Vp*-on al thys, be pope of 4 Irish Rome, that ys heede of al crystendome, and that hath a specyall Princes ryght of al the Ilondes of crystendome as wyde as the world yielded to him. ys, he yaf plenerly, and confermed to the kynge, the lordshyp [*Fol.25 b.] of the lond, as hyt ys to-fore I-told. and of eldre ryght we 8 2. The fyndeth eke I-wrytte, that the kynges of England haue to Irland Pope of of Germon, Belynes sone, kynge of Brytavgne, that ys nowe Rome granted Englond, he come ynto Irland, & whan the lond; & many ver Ireland to him. me bar hym truage, and other aftyr hym, ynto brytaygne. 12 3. Gur-Ther-aftyr the kynge Arthur hadde truage eke out of Irland; guntius won & Gylmory the kynge, that than was wyth other kynge of the Ireland. 4. Arthur Ilondes, was wyth hym at the grete feste that he held at karlyow. had truage On other halue, the folk of Irland come formeste out of bastles 16 from Ireland. & out of Bayon, that longeth now to gascoyne, wherof the kynges 5. The of england ben lordes. And thys me may wel vnderstond, that Irish came from both by old ryght & by newe, the kynges of Englond owen wel Bayonne, subject to to have the lordshyp of Irland. And thegh the folk of the lond 20 England. neuer ne hadde be subyet ther-byfore, hyt oght be I-noght, þat English kings are, thay al by good wylle yold ham to kynge henry, by othes & by of right, Lords of ostages, & al sykernesse that hymself lyked; & be popes that Ireland. ber-aftyr hym graunted & confermed the lordshyp of the lond, 24 Nota that & accorsed al ham that you any tyme thar-ayeyn come. And Iresshemen thegh thay, through kynd falsnesse & vnstablenesse that yn ham bene false of kynd. ys, lytyl tel of othes & of mansynge, natheles, thay wer neuer, throgh no man that power hadde, ther-of assovlled ne vnbound, 28 Bot man may bynd hymself wyth such thynge, bot nat so lyghly vnbynd.

[CHAPTER LVIII.]

Giraldus says no more of the Conquest, but explains why it was pleted.

Taystir Geraud ne telleth no forther of the conquest; bot of be lette where-through the lond 32 was [not] clenlych I-conquered, ne the folk fully I-broght yn thedone, he telleth such resons :--- Thay that fyrst comen, hadden ful wel never com- I-spedde wyth-out any lette, yif be kynge ne hadd so astyly

that was the Erlis by hys wyfe. The lorchipp clenly the Erle yaue to the kynge; and al the Pryncys of the londe ther-aftyr, by har good-will, yoldyn ham to the kynge to be euer-more subjecte to hym and to hys. Vpon al this, the pope of Rome, that is hede of al crystyndome, and that hath a Special ryght of al the Ilondys of qui insulas omnes sibi crystyndome, as wid as the worlde is, he yaue Plenerly, and con-speciali fermyd to the kynge, the lorchipp of the lond, as hit is to-fore tolde. quodam jure re-And of eldyre ryght we fyndyth also y-writte, that the kynge spiciunt. of Englande haue to Irlande * of Gormon, Belynes Sone, Kyng of [*Fol. 25 Brytaigne¹, that is now England, he come Into Irland, and toke b.] the londe ; and many a yere thay bare hym truage, and othyr aftyr ² Hiberhym, Into brytaigne. Ther-aftyr also, kynge Artoure hadd truage niae renes out of Irland²; and Gylmory the kynge, that that tyme was wyth Tributarios othyre kynges of the Ilandis, was with hym at the grete feste that habuisse, he helde at karlion. On othyr halue, the Pepil of Irlande come Praeterea fryste out of Bascles and out of Bayon, that longyth now to gascoyne, Wherof the kynges of Englande ben lordys. And thus ye quam hodie nostra may wel vndyrstonde that, both by olde ryght and by new, the continet kynges of England owen well to haue the lorchipp of Irland. And Gasconiae, Blasconiae thegh the folke of the londe neuer hadd be Subjecte ther-by-fore, hit caput est, undeoght be y-now, that thay al, by good-will, yaue ham to the kynge Hiberhenry by othys and hostages, and by al maner Surte that he nenses prodesyrid³; and the Popis that ther-aftyr hym graunted and confermed the lorchipp of the londe, and acorsyd al them that in any tyme ¶ And thegh thay, by kynde falsnes and Nota that ther-agayn come. Irvsh-men vnstabilnes that in ham is, lytel tell of othys and of mansynge, bene fals natheles, thay were neuer, by noo man that Power hadd, therof of kynde. assoilled ne vnbound. But a man may bynde hym-Selfe with Such thynge, but noght So lyght vn-bynde.

[CHAPTER LVIII.]

Maister geraud ne tellyth no ferdyr the conquest; Capitulum but of the lette wherfor the londe was [not] clenlych I-conquerid, ne the Pepil fully y-broght in theudom, he tellyth Such resonys:-Thay that fryst comen, haddyn full well y-Spede

¹ Brytaytaigne, MS. ³ firmis fidei sacramentique vinculis : v. 320.

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I. Henry II's stopping the coming of the English. 2. His going home so soon Ireland.

The Irish, at first frightend, learnt to fight and shoot,

and often beat the English.

on folk only for their sins. The Irish sind, but God gave

[*Fol. 26 a.]

no one grace to enslave them. The four Prophets say that the

English shan't fully conquer Doomsday;

I-sent, & forboden that no man ne shold to ham come; & thay that wer ynto be lond I-come, shold the lond leue, & turne ayeyne, other forlese al that thay helden of the kynge yn other londes. And whan the kynge was ynto the lond 4 hymself I-come wyth so moch power, hyt had he wel ynoght, nar that he hadd so sone turned ayeyne, through the popes heste atter his Invasion of & pe cardynals, & eke the lyddernesse that hys sones hadden I-purueyed to do hym, the whyll that he was out of lond. ffor 8 the folk that, at the begynnynge of so sodeyne comynge, was so swyth amayed, & aferd & agrysed of the wepned men stalwarthnesse, and of the derne wondynge of arwes, through lange abydynge & sleuyth of Maystres that no stalwarthnesse ne sykernesse was 12 wyth, by lytyll & lytel lerned, wepne to berr, arwes to shote; & so wel woned ham ther-to, that oft ham byfelle wonderly goode happes yn fyght vpod englysshe-med; & on thys maner, that at the begynnynge lyghly myght be I-shent & I-broght vnder fote, 16 worthen bold & staluarth to wythstond, & defend ham-self. Me may rede & ouerseche the boke of kynges, be prophetes, al the old rede fro end to other, & other tymes that afoor haue I-bc; War comes me shal neuer fynd that werr & hate came vpon folk, bot for 20 har synnes; & so hyt may wel be of the folk of Irland, that oft serued wel, for har synnes, to have werre & wrak of other outlondes men; natheles, god almyghty was nat ham so wengeable wrot, that he tholled ham fully, nether al to be vndone, ne fully 24 I-broght yn-to theudome, nether * thay clenly forelore grace; ne the other clenlych hadden grace, the Maystrye to hawe, ham fully & preysebly yn theudome for to hold. Me fynt that be Iresshemen hadden four prophetes, euery yn hys tyme, Patryk, Molynge, 28 Braken, & Colmkylly, whos bokes ben wyth ham an Iresshe chief Irish I-wrytte; euery of ham speken of the fyght of thys conqueste, & seyne that 'lange stryf & oft fyghtynge shal be for thys lond; & oft the lond shal be I-horyed & I-steyned wyth grete slaght of 32

Bot vnnethe thay beheteth the Englyssh peple fully be men.' maystrye a lytell ar domesday, & that the lond shal from see to see Ireland till be I-castelled & fully I-won. Bot the englysshe-men shollen, ar that, oft wel feble be, & myche desayse yn the lond so [? se]. Barcan 36

with-out any lette, yf the kynge ne hadd So hastely y-sende and si non comandid that no man ne sholde to ham come; and thay that were primis praecur-Into the londe y-come, sholde the londe lewe, and turne ayeyn, sorum adventibus othyr to lese al that thay heldyn of the kynge in othyre londys. regio And whan the kynge was Into the land hym-Selfe y-come with So f_{edicto}^{uisset} mych Power, hit hadd y-be wel y-now, ¹ nar that he hadd So Sone praecisa sequela. turned agayn, through the Popis comandment and the cardynalis, 1 si ab And also the wickydnys that his Sones haddyn y-Purueyed to done ausu nobili hym, the whyle that he was out of londe. For the Pepil that, at mature the begynnynge of So Sodeyn comynge, was So gretly aferde and intestina agrisid the wepynnyd-men boldenys, and of the cruel woundynge of ratio non arowes, throw longe abydynge and Sleuth of Maysters, that no revocasset. boldnys ne Sickyrnys was wyth, by lytell and lytell lernyd wepyn to berre, Arrowes to shote; and So wel vsyd ham therto, that many tymys ham by-fell wondyrly good happys in fyght vpon englysh-men; and on this manere, that at the begynnynge lygh[t]ly confundi myght be shente and broght vndyrfoote, Weryn bolde and hardy poterat. to Wythstonde and defende ham-Selfe / We may rede and ouerseche the boke of kynges, the prophetis, al the olde rede fro ende to totam . . oper, and othyr tymys that to-for have y-be, We shal neuer Veteris Testamenti fynde that were ne hate came vpon Pepill, but for har Synnes. seriem. And So hit may wel be of the Pepil of Irland, that ofte serued wel, for har Synnes, to have werre * and wrake of othyr strange [*Fol. 26 comen men. Natheles, god almyghty was not ham so wengeabil a.] wroth that he wolde fully ham Putte out of londe, nethyre al to be relomnino vndone, ne fully broght Into traldome, nethyr thay clenly forlorne subjici meruit vel grace. Nethyr ne othyr hadd not fully grace, the Maystry to haue, deleri. and ham fully and Pesabilly in thraldome to holde / ¶ We Nota de fyndyth that the Irysh-men haddyn iiije prophetis euery in his prophetis. Hibernie. tyme, Patrike, Molynge, Brakan and Colmkylle, Whos bokis ben wyth ham in Irysh writte. Euery of ham Spekyth of the fyght of this conqueste, And Sayne that ' lange stryfe and of fyghtynge shal be for this londe; and ofte the lond shal be defowlid and y-steynyd wyth grete Slaght of men.' But vnnethe thay grauntyth that the Englysh pepil fully the maystry, a lytel ar the day of Dome, and that ²/_{subacta et} the lond shal from See to See / be castelid and fully Enhabited 2 / incas-But be Englysh-men shal, ar that, ofte wel febil be, and mych tellata.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. LIX). [DUBL. MS.

but they shall be troubled by a King from St. Patrick's Mountains.

seyth, that 'throgh a kynge that shal come out of the wyl montayngnes of seynt patrykes pat me cleppeth slesto (slesco?). & on a soneday-nyght¹, a castel yn the wodd contreys of Offalve shal to-brek, most what al the Englysshe-men of Irland shullen 4 be I-stourbet' / /

[CHAPTER LIX.]

why Prince John didn't succeed in Ireland.

When he landed, rich men welcomd him, but had their beards pulld by his young Normans.

The Irish went off disgusted, and told their countrymen.

The three chiefs of Ireland (of Limerick, Connaught, and Cork,)

swore they'd fight for their freedom to the death.

I'll tell you Now and for whych thynge hit was, that the kynges sonnes trauaille, and har mochel costes, at thys tyme ne sped nat as tham ogh, hyt vs non harmes thegh me her sette; for thegh of thynge that vs I-past ne be no remedy, natheles, of thynge that ys to come, me may be war by ensample of har dede. Whan the kynges sone was Icome to lond at Waterford, theder come to hym Iresshe-men of the 12 contray, rych men, and of pees trew hym besoght, & made hym grete gladnesshe as hare lord, & profred hym to kyssen. Thay anoon ryght of the new men, & namely of the Normannes, weren shame-fully received, & lothly I-hokred, & by the berdes-whych, 16 yn the maner of the contrey, they hadden grete & long-some of ham shamly weren I-shaken & I-draw. As sone as thay comen to har owne, wyth al that thay hadden thay wyth-drowen ham, & left the contrey & wenten to the kynge of Thomon, and hym [told], & 20 also the kynge of desmon & the kynge of Connaght, what thay hadd receyued & found wyth the kynges sone. \blacksquare A yonglynge al wyth yonglynges gouerned ; & by yonge men rede, al he wroght; no wytte ne no staluarthnesse wyth hym was found; no sekernese ne 24 trouth to Iresshemen, thayr south nat behete. Whan tythynges her-of was I-spronge, thay thre cheftayns of Irland that wer ther redy to come to the kynges sone, & ham to hym, & do hym homage, thay thogethen that, aftyr thay smal harmes, wolden come more ; & 28 whan me such thynge dydde to good men & meke, wel wors me wold do the prouth & the vnbuxum. Thay toke ham to rede, & sworr to-gedder that thay wolden vpon har lyues wythstond the ryghtes of har old fredomes, & defende, for to be al to-hewen. 32 And for that thay shold ² th[is] th[yng] the better to end brynge, thay

> ¹ MS. sone myght. ² From this line to the end of the page, the ends of the lines are missing, the corner of the page being torn off.

myssayse haue in the londe. So Brakan Seyth, that 'throgh 1 a kynge that shal come of the wylde Montaignes of Seynte Patrickes, that is callid Selfco, and on a soneday-nyght², a castel in the wode Slefto, contreies of Ofelanye shal breke, most what al the Englysh-men Ofaley. of Irland shal be strobyd.'

[CHAPTER LIX.]

NOw and for wyche thynge hit was, that the kynges Capitulum Sones travayll, and his grete costes, at this tyme sped 3 viri non noght as tham oght, Hit is none harme thegh I her reherse. Forto infirmi, fideles speke of thynge that is Paste, is no remedy; Nevyrthelasse, of thynge hactenus that is to come, we may be-ware by ensampil of har dedes // Anglis, et pacifici, ¶ Whan the kynges Sone was come to londe at Watyrforde, thedyr tanguam come to hym Irysh-men of the contray, rych men 8, and of trew Pees domino hym be-soght / and made hym grete gladnys as har lorde, and lantes, proferid to kysse hym. Than anoone ryght / of two new men, 4 and et eum in osculo namely of the Normanes, waryn shamefully rescewid, and lewidly pacis sus-Pullid ham by the Berdys, whych, in the maner of the contrey, thay *cipientes*. haddyn grete and longe. Some of them wer Shamefully shaken nostris et and ydrawen. As Sone as thay comen to har owyn, wyth all that Normannis. ⁵ nullam thay hadde, thay wythdrowen ham and lefte the contrey, and wente "nuttam Hibernicis to the kynge of Thomonde, and tolde hym, and also the kynge of securi-Desmonde and the kynge of Connaght, what thay hadd rescewyd *tatem pro-mittentes*. and found with the kynges sone. ¶ A yonglynge al wyth ⁶ tres prinyonglynges gouernyd, and by yonge men consayl al didd; And cipales no witte ne boldnys wyth hym was founde; ne Surte, ne trouth, temporis to yrysh-men thay couth not promyse 5. ¶ Whan tythyngys herof Hiberniae postes, was spronge, thay iije captaynys of Irland 6 that was that Limerityme redy to come to the kynges sone, and yelde ham to hym, censis, Connacand to do hym homage, thay thoghten, that aftyr thay smale tensis, et harmys, wolde come more; and whan thay Such thynge did to Corga-giensis. good men and meke, Wel wors thay wolde do to the Prute Ihesus. and the vnbuxum. Thay toke hame to * consail, and Sware [*Fol. 26 to-gadderes that thay woldyn vpon Har Lywes wythstond the b.] ryghtes of har olde fredomys, and defende til thay were al antiquae libertatis hewyde. And for thay sholde this thynge the bettyr brynge to sub

¹ per quemdam regem, de desertis Patricii montibus venturum, et nocto discrimine Dominica, castrum quoddam in nemorosis Ophelanie partibus irrupturum, jura tuendum. omnes fere Anglici ab Hibernia turbabuntur.-Op. v. 385.

capitum

² MS. sone myght (the same mistake, as before, in both MSS.).

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sentten about ynto al the lond, & allyed h . . . & maden frendes of The Irish rebels ham that wer byfore fome[n], & thus through ham that th ... -nyge putte (progh pryde) from ham, both thaye & al other most dele friends with their were bys folke, as every other wyld folk, thegh thay no 4 wyrshype ne couthe . . . me shold do ham wyrshype & false them-And thegh thay nat be wyth falsnesse, selves, they manshype. object to natheles thay shonneth that other do ham [any falshede;] & thus others being false the good that thay loueth yn other, thay rech. ham 8 to them. to-gydder thay *Euery wysman vnderstond hym [*Fol. 26 by Roboam, Salomones sone, how mych harme falleth of pryde & John's ouertrowshype. what he, aftyr hys fadyr, was made kynge of Israel, failure is explaind be folk come to hym, & bysoght hym that he shold ham somwhat 12 by Rehoboam's. allegge of be seruyces that thay wer I-woned to do hys fadyr. He whose was yonge; and by yonge men consaylle, answard & seyd, 'My following of young fyngyr ys gretter than was my faders ryggebone; & yf he yow men's bette wyth yardes, y wyl yow bette wyth breres.' I Throgh that 16 advice, lost him answar, the ten kynredes hym leften, & maden ham kynge of ten Tribes of Israel. Ieroboam, & neuer aftyr weren vnder hym ne noon of hys: of al be folk of Israel, non wyth hym abode, bot twey kynredes. Vpon John gave the lands thys, be Iresshe-men londes, that, fro the tyme that Robert steuenes- 20 of faithful sone fyrst come ynto be lond, trewly wyth englysshe-men hadden Irish, to new men. I-be, wer I-take fro ham, & yeuen to the newe men. And thay anoon turned to the Iresshe-men, & aspyed al the harme that thay So these myght do to be Englysshe; & werr, so mych the more harme dydde, 24 that thay so pryue werr wyth ham ther-byfore against

[CHAPTER LX.]

The coast towns and castles were given to rebels, who only gatherd gold, and did harm to peacemen, not to foes.

Irish

turnd

him.

make

foes. Tho'

b.]

The tounes vp-on the see, and the castels, wyth the londes that to ham belonget, & the truages & the rentes that shold be I-spende yn comyn nede of the 28 lond, & to ham, of rebelles thay war I-sette to such that wel fayne gadered gold & syluer wyth-yn wowes, eten wel & drynken, and ladden Idel lyf, & al thynge vnprofytably wasteden, to harme of pees-men, & nat of fomen. Amonge other harmes betydde yit 32 more, that yn lond so smert & so kene, & folk so weyward & so vnredy, & so mych harme doynge, The kepynge & the maystry toke

Ende, thay Sende about into al the londe, and allied ham togad- Quia deris, and madyn frendys of tham that were enemys. And thus throw primes a ham, that thay at the begynnynge Putte (throw Pryde) from them, lenter reboth thay and al otheres for the more parte was fro them stirrid. *pulimus...* tam illos ¶ This Pepyll, as every othyr wylde Pepill, thegh thay no wyrchipp quam kowth not, Natheles thay wolde that hy sholde do ham wyrchippe majores universos and manshipe. And thegh thay be not aferde ne ashamyd to be eo exemplo founde wyth falsnesse, Natheles, thay Shonnyth that any othyr proceed sholde do ham any falshede: and thay lowyth trouth; and thus mus bonum good that thay lowyth in otheres, thay thynke no fors whow lytill quod in be found in ham-Selfe therof. Euery vysman vndyrstond hym by diligunt, Roboam, Salomones Sone, how mych harym fallyth of Pryde. minus in se reperiri Whan he, aftyr his fadyr, was made kynge of Israel, the Pepil non come to hym, and besoght hym that he sholde ham Somewhate erubescunt. allegge of the Servyces that thay were wonyd to do to his fadyr. ego vos He was yonge ; and, by yonge men consayl, answerid and Sayde, caedam scorpio-¶ "My fyngyr is more and grettyr then was my Fadyris bake-bone; nibus. And yf he bette yow wyth yardes, y will bette you with breris "/ 1 novis nostris , ¶ And for that answere, al the tene kynredes lefte hym / and contra made ham a kynge of Ieroboam; and neuer aftyr weryn yndyr promissa hym, ne noone of his. Of al the Pepil of Israel, none with hym limus. abode, but two kynredis. Vpon this, the Irysh-men londes that 2 tanto fro the tyme that Robert Steuenes Sone fryste come Into the londe, quidem ad trewely wyth englysh-men haddyn, wer take fro ham, and yewyn efficaciores, to two new men¹. And thay anoone turnyd to the Irysh-men, and quanto prius aspied al the harme that thay myght do to be Englysh; and fuerant werre, so mych the more harme didde, that thay were so Pryue liariores. wyth ham therto-fore². ³ talibus

[CHAPTER LX.]

The tounes vpon the See, and the castelis, wyth capitulum the londys that to ham Partenyd, and the truages $\frac{1 \times m}{assidue}$ and the rentes that sholde be I-Spend in the comyn Profite of the intra londe, and yaue hit to Rebellys³, and to such that well fayne muros aucupantes gaderid golde and Syluer wyth-In wowes, etten wel, and drounken, ... cum and laddyn ydill lyfe, and al thynge vnprofytably wastyne, to grete civium, non hostium harme of Pees men, and noght to enemys. Amonge al othyr harmys damno hefell yit more, that in the londe So Smyrte and So kene, and cuncta in-utilitercon-Pepil So weyward and So vnredy, and So mych harme doynge, sumebant.

nobis insoabsterruicontu-

est

assignata, qui aurum The English Governors were cowards. and liked women war.

144

The Irish now burnt, slew, and stole. The Engcoast stuck to wine and women. The inland was plunderd by the Irish.

Everywhere was wailing; every day fresh news of fire and

Judges

ruind good men and true, [*Fol. 27 ā.] worse than

Irish foes did.

an hand, that lever 1 hadde har rych robes, than ham to wepne; leuer to sytte at borde, pan hoste to lede; redyer to fle pan to fyght; leuer to hold a fayr mayd by the womb, than sper & sheld to ber an hand; nether trewe to har vnderlynges, ne dredful to har 4 better than enemyes. Thay had not that good herte, ne of ky[nde] yt com to ham, for to spar the meke, & wreke ham on the prout; bot al aveyne that, thay sp[arid & 2] lykled wyth the sterne, & pulled & strope ham that now harme dydde. Vnder whych gouernours, the 8 Iresshe-men begon to pryde & take ouer-hand of the englysshe, branten and slowen, robbeden And stellen; for the maystres wyth lish of the har meygne, helden ham alwey yn the cytees vpon the see, per plente was of wyn & of women, to whych they weren al clenlych 12 I-yeue to. Bot the lond wyth-In, & the marches next har enemyes, & the castles & the tounes that weren amyd, weren I-lefte & I-brant, the men I-robbed & I-sleyn, wyth-out any lette. The good knyghtes & the eldre folk of the lond, as men that me 16 noght told-by that whyle, wyth-drow ham al sleghtly, & held ham al stylle, for to awayty al soft, what endynge such hyddous stormes wold ham. That whyle, be state of the lond was such, In al places was weylynge & wonynge, yollynge & crynge; Al be weyes forlete; 20 no man ne trust to mete wyth other; euery day come newe tythynges of bernynge & sleynge, robbynge & revyng ³ yn the out slaughter. londes : vnneth a lytel shadow of pees was yn be bourgh tounes, ber the wyn quenched al be sorowe; the gold & the syluer, al oper 24 harmes; that me shold yn so lydder world wend from contray to contray wyth folk I-wepned, and chasty ham that mysdeden. Thay setten Iustyces of bench yn har robes of scarlet & menyuer : men wyth swerdes & battes ham for to kepe, ther no nede was. Than 28 was be motynge, the pledynge and reynnynge of good men and trewe that * non harme dydden : wors ham dydde the harme & the ten that bay ther-through hadden, ban the robbynge & reuynge that thar enemyes ham dydde. C Another thynge that mych was to 32 ¹ MS. louer.

² Torn out.

³ The corner of p. 26 b was torn off before being written upon, so that there are no words missing, and the lines follow each other as usual.

RAWL. MS.] JOHN'S MISRULE IN IRELAND, WHICH SUFFERS FROM IT. 145

The kepynge¹, and the men that was Maysteres to kepe the lande, he A. D. 1185. had lewer his rych clothis to were, than wepyn to berre; and lowid ¹ Stipen-diaria bettyr to sitte at borde, than hoste to lede; and more redyer to fle quippe than to fyght; leuer to holde a fayre mayde by the wombe, than familia, suos spere and Shelde to ber an honde. And also they wer not trewe imitata magistros. to har Subjectis, ne dredfull to har enemys. Thay had not that suisque * good Herte, ne of good Kynde Hit come to Ham, forto Spare the majoribus morem meke, and wreke Ham on the Prowte; but al the contrary thay did. gerens. Thay Sparid and fikyllid wyth the sterne, and toke and Pullid the [*Fol. 27 meke, and them that noone harme did // Vndyr whych gouernors, the Irysh-men begon to be Prowde, and to haue the Maystry of the Englysh-men, and branten, and Slavne, and Stellen / For thay Maysteris, wyth har meny, heldyn² ham at al tymys in the Citteis² [heldym MS.1vpon the see-syde, ther Plente was of wyne and of women, to the vino veneriwyche thay yaue ham clenly to. But the lond wyth-In, and the que data, maritimis marchis nexte har enemys, and the castelis and the tounes that in urbibus moram weryn a-myde, weryn lefte and brante, the men robyd and Slayn, assidue wyth-out any resistence. The good knyghtes and the eldyr Pepill faciebat. of the londe, as men that noght is tolde by, that tyme wythdrow Antiqua vero ham al Slyly, and held ham al stylle, for-to witte al Softe what militia novorum Ende Suche grete Stormys sholde haue. That tyme, the state of ingruente the londe was Suche, In al Placis was wepynge and cryenge, and malitia, tanquam myche Sorrow. All the weyes was lefte, that no man trustid not vilis et reprobata. to mete with anothyr; every day come newe tythyngis of brennynge *latuit* and Sleynge, robbynge and rewynge in the out-landis. Vnneth a interimet siluit. lytyll Sadow of Pees was in the burgage tounes 3, ther the wyne 3 sed solum quenchid al the Sorrow ; the golde and the syluere, al the harmys. in urbibus pacis Thar thay Sholde, in so wyckyd a tyme, goo from contray to ut cumque contray wyth Pepill y-wepenyd, and correcte ham that did amys; umbra vi-Thay Syttyn Iustices of benche in hare Roobis of Scarlete and debatur. menywere; men with Swerdis and battis forto kepe ham, ther [See the Latin Than was the motynge, the pledynge, and reyuynge below. no nede was. of goode men and trew, that noone harme didde. Wors hame didd p. 152.] the harme and the angyr that thay ther through haddyn / than the robbynge and reuynge that har enemys ham dide // Anothyr thynge that gretly is to mowrne, be-felle also, wher-of god was

 \mathbf{L}

146 THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. LX-LXI). [DUBL MS.

A. D. 1185. rewe byfelle also, whar-of gode was worste I-quemed: Ther

prince cometh newly to londe hyt becometh welle that he wyrshype god & holy chyrch, mayntenynge the ryghtes, & yeue more there-to. Bot be newe prynce nat only held hym from that for to eche the 4 Prince John good of holy chyrch, bot londes & rentes & pryuyleges that thay of spoild the Irish old world hadde & vsed, at hys fyrst comynge yn many places he Church. bename al clene; yn other places he chaunged, & yaue wors & lasse thar for; & hyt may wel be, pat hys spede yn othere thynges was 8 euer the wors & noght be bettyr. On thys maner the englysshe The Irish began to weren both argh & woke to assayllen and to fyght, be Iresshe rebel. stronge & bold to wythstonde, tyl that be new prynce saue openly that al thynge vnder hys newe men yede to loste; he chaunget 12 ham & renued, as men that nothynge couth, & drogh to hym the So John de old knyghtes & the good men that waren ther-to-for Ivsed to Courci was fyght yn the maner of be lond, & sette Iohn de Curcy maystre & made Ruler, and chefteyne of al thynge that was to done; vnder whom be state & 16 at once be pees of the lond, by as mych began anoon ryght to amend, as mended matters. Iohn, of hert & of staluarthnesshe, passed al other, passynge & through sechynge the Inlondes, as Desmone, Thomone, Mounester, Connaght; & let nat the meygne vndo hamself wyth oft harme & 20 lostes, doynge to hys fomen, & oft to hym-self & to hys, as he that

[CHAPTER LXI.]

noght was adredde to assaye be vnsyker aduentures of fyght & of

Prince John had three sets of men: I. Normans, the worst, whom he trusted most; 2. the English he brought with him ; 3. the English in Ireland, the best, whom he trusted least.

baret.

¹The yonge prynce at the begynnynge hadde wyth ²⁴ hym thre manere of meygne, Normannes, Englysshe, & pe Englysshe that he found yn the lond. In wyrshype, gret frenshype, & loue, he hold the fyrst & the worst; In lasse, the mydmest & the better; In allerleste, the latest & pe ²⁸ beste. The fyrst ne myght nat lyue wyth-out wyn, yn whyche thay weren fostred; & for-thy thay forsoken on al wyse to ben yn marches & yn castels fer from the see I-sette; no-wher bot about the kynges sone & hys body, kepe thay myght nat be, & hym folwen, 3² & negh hym be, wyth-out any departynge. fer from the weste & ¹The usual large initial letter is omitted here, a space being left for it in which a small t is put.

RAWL. MS.] JOHN DE COURCI MADE GOVERNOR OF IRELAND.

moste dysplesyd. Ther Prynce comyth newely to londe, hit A. D. 1185. becomyth that he wirchippe god and holy churche, mayntenynge nihil de the ryghtes, and yeue more therto. But the new Prynce, not oonly ferentes... helde hym frome that, forto eche the good of hooly church; but quinimmo londis and rentis and Pryuylegis that thay of olde Worlde hadde statim suband vsyd / At his fryst comynge, in many Placis he toke al clene, latis et and in othyr Placis he chaungid, and yaue Wors and lasse therfor. bus. And hit may wel be, that his Spede in othyr thyngis was euer the wors, and noght the bettyr. On this maner the Englysh-men wer both febill and feynte to assaylen and to fyght, and the Irysh-men hostibus bolde and stronge to wythstonde, till that the new Prynce opynly autem ad rebellan-Saw that al thynge vndyr his new men yede to loste. he chaunged dum audaham, and remewid as men that nothynge kowth, and drewe to hym cissimis. the olde knyghtes, and the good men that weryn therto-for y-vsyd summan rerum to fyght in the maner of the londe, And Sette Ihon de Curcy, geren-Maystyr and captayn of al thynge that was to doun, Vndyr Whom darum curam the State and the Pees of the londe, by as-mych began anoone commisit. ryght to amende, as Ihon, of herte * and of Boldnys, Passid all [*Fol. 27 othyr, Passynge and throw shechynge the In-Londys, As Desmonde, Thomon, Mownyster, Connaght, and lette not the meny terrae Vndo ham-Selfe wyth ofte harme and lostis, doynge to his ennemys partes. and ofte to hym-Selfe and to his, as he that noght was adrede incertam bellici to assay the vnsure aduentures of fyght Λ nd of battaylle.

[CHAPTER LXI.]

The yonge Prynce at the begynnynge hadd with Capitulum hym thre maner of menny, Normanes, Englyssh, Ixjm. and the Englyssh that he founde in the londe / In grete wyrchipp, In summa frendshipp and loue, he helde the fryste and the worste. In lasse, familiaritate primos the Secounde and the bettyr. And in alltherleste, the latyste and habuinus. the beste. The fryste myght not lyue wyth-out wyn, in whych they 2 solum weryn fosterid; And therfor thay forsoke to be in marchis and in *filii regis* latera castelis ferre frome the See ysette 1 / and 2 myght not be in no stipare. Place but aboute the kyngis Sone, (and [from] his body, kepe thay solum filio myght not be,) and hym followyn, and ney to hym be, with-out any separadepartynge. ferre from the Weste, and ney to the Eeste; Fer from biliter assistere.

¹ Primi vino, quo nutriti fuerant, carere non volentes, in remotis marchiis, et castris procul a mari constructis, moram facere modis omnibus recusabant .--Op. v. 394-5.

certaminis aleam.

147

148 THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. LXI-LXII). DUBL. MS.

A. D. 1185. negh al eeste; fer from myssayse, & negh ayse, thay wyllet euer to John's be sette. I Ianglers & bosters, & of grette othes, and stronge young men lyers, foderes, whybelers, Moch told by ham-self through pryde, & were boasters. lytel by other; yiftes & wyrshype to receyue, thay wer the fyrst; 4 liars, bribedout & perrylle to receyue, thay war ever the laste. The lytel good takers. that thay dydde that wyth hym comen, that was through the englysshe that he wyth hym broght; bot thay was no thynge derward wyth hym ayeyns the other, that no good ne couth do. 8 He forsook And for the good knyghtes & the men through whych the wey ynto the good old Engthe lond was fyrst I-opened, wer wyth ham bot as forsaken & forlete; now I-cleppeth to conssaylle bot the newe; to non trusted lishmen, he bot to the newe; to now was wyrshype I-do bot to the newe. 12 Hyt byfelle, that whan thay other wythdrowe ham for such thynge, & lete ham I-worth, yn al thynge that thay dydde, lytel or noght thay sp[ed]de. Such gyltes & so many, thegh thay both wer myche to wite, yong old & yonge rede, natheles be yonge lydder rede was 16 the wise whom the more gylty; ffore boustyous lond and vnredy, hadde al nede to be rebels needed. Irotet and I-kept throgh wyse men & redy.

[CHAPTER LXII.]

John builds three Castles, at Ardfinan, Lismore, Tibragh.

[*Fol. 7 b.] Three Knights are slain. R. Fitz-Hugh, &c.

Men of Thomond, or Limerick, slain; and O'Grady (?) Dermot, King of Desmond dies.

¹ Aftyr that the kynges sone hadde the lordshype of Irland, & ynto the lond was y-come, Aduentures byfelle ²⁰ that maystyr Gerot shortly toucheth. Of thre castels that he anow ryght lete rere, on at Ardfynan, another at lysmore, the thyrd at Tybraghnych. Of thre staluarth * knyghtes that throgh grete mesaduentur weren I-slawe, Robert de Barry at Lysmore; ²⁴ Reymond, hughes sone, at Olethaw ; Reymon of Cantetow yn Osserye. Of a partye of the meygne of Ardfynan that the kynge of Thomow descomfyted yn a wod per negñ on a mydsomyr day, And four knyghtes that ther wer y-slaw ; & thay of Tothmow the ²⁸ sam day wer dyscomfyt to-for Tybragh ; & a grete Iresshe-man, Ograde, was ther I-slawe, wyth many other of the meygne of Ardfynaw, that sone aftyr, yn a prey-takynge toward lymeryke weyes dyscomfyte, & xix knyghtes I-slawe. Of the prynce Of 3² Desmow, Dermot Maccarthy, that with many other yn a parlement

¹ The usual large initial letter is omitted, space being left for it.

RAWL. MS.] JOHN'S TRUST OF BAD NEW MEN AND NEGLECT OF OLD. 149

myssayse, and nygh to ayse, thay wolde euer to be sette. // Iangleris, A. D. 1185. bosteris, and of grete othis, stronge lyeris, lycheres, Why-beleres, verbosi, jactatores, Moche sette by ham-selfe for Pride, and lytill by otheres: yiftis enormium and wyrchipp to rescewe, thay were the fryst; Dowte and Peril juramento rescewe, thay wer euer the laste. The lytill good that thay auctores. didd that wyth hym comyn, that was through the Englyssh that 1 solum he wyth hym broght. But thay was nothynge Derward wyth hym novis fidem habentes, agaynys the othyr, that no good ne couth do / And for the solum good knyghtes and the men, throw whych the wey into the lond *novos* dignos was fryste oppenyd, wer wyth ham but as forsakyn and forlete / honore putavimus. non callid to consaill, but the newe; to noone trustid he¹, but to the new; to noone was wirchipp done, but to the newe. ² Hit ² effectum est ut illis befel that, whan thay othyr wythdrow hame for Suche thynge, se retrahenand lette ham alone, with al thynge that thay did, Lytell or tibus, et noght thay Spede. Such gyltes and So many, thegh thay both operas non ingcrentiwer mych to witte, yonge elde and yonge rede, natheles the yonge bus, in lewid consaylle was mor gylty; For bostious, loude and vnredy, cunctis agendis hadd grete nede to be y-rotid and y-kepete through wysmen and parum isti profecisredy. sent.

[CHAPTER LXII.]

Aftyr that tyme that the kynges Sone hadde the Capitulum lordshipp of Irland, and into the londe was come, ad-lxijm. uentures befell that Maystyr geraude Sortely touchyth. Of th[r]e castelis that he anoone ryght lette rere, oone at ardfynan, anothyr at lysmore, the thyrde at Tybraght. Of thre bolde and hardy knyghtes, that throw gret mysaduenture weryn slayne, Robert fatts adversis et de Barry at lysmore, Reymond Hughes-sone at Olethan, Reymond aversis. of Canteton in Ossory. Of a party of the meny of ardfynan, that $\frac{De \ parte}{quadam}$ the kynge of Thomon descomfited in a wodde ther neygh, On a Archphi-Mydsomer day, And four knyghtes that were Slayn; and thay of familia. Thomonde the same day wer discomfite to-*for tybraght; and a [*Fol. 28 grete Irysh-man, Odrade, Was ther Slayn, wyth many othyr Of the De... meny of ardfynan, that Sone aftyr in a pray-takynge toward Oggravi lymerike weies Discomfite³, and xix knyghtes wer Slayn. Of the *interemp-*tione. Prynce of Desmonde, Dermot Maccarthy, that with many othyr in

³ in praedae captione versus Limericum confectis.—Op. v. 386.

150 THE ENGLISH CONQUEST OF IRELAND (CH. LXII). DUBL. MS.

slain.

Saints' bodies found. Hugh de Laci slain, A. D. 1186.

Roger le Poer slain. The Irish silently conspire, destroy castles, and kill men.

A.D. 1185. besyde Corke, throgh Tybaud wauter & the meygne of Corke, was Ulstermen I-slawe. Of the men of kenalayne, that to boldely wentten ynto Mythe to preyer, & ther werer I-slawe through Wyllyam le petyt, & an hundert heedes of ham I-broght to dyuelyn. Of other holy 4 bodyes, patryke, Bryde, &, Colmekyl, at doun I-found, & by Iohn de Courcy wer translated; of hugh de lacy, that to trysty was vpon hys Iresshe-men, & by trayson of ham was I-heded at dernagh. C Of thretten knyghtes, that vnder Ihon de Courcy weren I-slawe 8 at a comynge out of Connaght. Of the staluarth yonge knyght Roger the power, that wyth many of hys, through traysone, yn Osserye was I-slawe; & throgh that thynge, al the Iresshe of the lond stylly sworne ham to-gyddyr aveyns the Englysshe; wher 12 through that, ¹ castels yn many places weren I-cast adoun, many men I-slawe, to grete perrylle to al the lond; & of many other aduentures that betydden aftyr that the kynges sone was lord of Irland, of whyche maystyr Geraud, ham & har gestes leueth to 16 other that ham wrytte wold, & lust hadden ther-to¹. And as thys An end maked of thys boke.

> ¹⁻¹ destructis castris pluribus, gravi insulae universae perturbatione: non indigna memoratu singula, translato in filium regis jam regni dominio, sua suorumque gesta suis assignando scriptoribus, ad ulteriora simul et utiliora festinamus.—Op. v. 387-8.

> > The unenglisht last Chapters.

Thus ends Ch. 35 of Giraldus's 2nd Book of his Expugnacio. His Ch. 36 is our 60, pp. 142-7, with an added Vision of 'Prince John marking out the foundations of a church, with a large nave and a very small chancel.' His Ch. 37 is our 61, pp. 146-9. In his Ch. 38, he states how the Irish are to be conquerd: in Ch. 39, how they are to be governd. Mr. Dimock's side-notes to these two Chapters are:

Ch. 38. "In every expedition, the counsel of those ought to be followed, who are best acquainted with the country and manners

RAWL. MS.] SLAUGHTER OF ENGLISH KNIGHTS AND MEN. RELICS FOUND. 151

a parlement besyde Corke, throgh Tybaud Wauter and the meny A. D. 1185. of Corke, was y-Slayn. Of the men of kynnaleyn, that So boldely in colloquio prope Corwentyn Into Myth, ther to take a pray, and ther weryn Slayn cagiam, a Corcagienthrough Willam le Petyte, and an C. hedys of ham broght to sibus Deuelyn // Of othyr hooly bodies, Patrike, Bryde, and Colmekil / et Theobaldiat doun y-found, and by Ihon de Curcy were translated. Of Gualteri Hugh de lacy, that to trysty was vpon his Irysh-men, And by familia traysone of ham was hedid at Dernagh // Of xiije knyghtes, peremptis. that vndyr Ihon de Curcy weryn Slayn at a comynge out of Curcy hin fercall. connaght; of the bolde yonge knyght, Roger the Powere, that wyth many of his, throw trayson, in Ossory was Slavn; And et ejusdem Throw that thynge, all the Irysh-men of the londe Pryuely Sworne casus occaham to-giddyr ayeynes the Englyssh-men; Wherthrow that, castellis clandestina quoque in many Places weryn caste dovne, and many men Slayn, in Peril totius of al the londe. And of many othyr aduentures that by chanse *Hibernici* populi in fell, aftyr, that the kynges sonne was lorde of Irlande, the whych Anglos con-Maystyr Geraud, ham and har gestis lewyth to othyr that ham juratione. write wille, and luste haw therto; And as thus an ende makyth of this boke.

> Et Sic finis est istius Libri. Laus deo clementissimo.

of the people. The great difference between French warfare, and that of Ireland and Wales [is]: In these countries, light-armed troops [are] more especially necessary. In any expedition into Ireland or Wales, the troops of the Welsh Marches [are] by far the best. In Irish warfare, archers [ought] to be united with the cavalry. The three parts of the island on this side the Shannon [ought] to be well incastellated; the other part won by degrees.

Ch. 39. The necessity of firm, severe, but moderate rulers. In time of peace, castles [ought] to be built, and roads to be improved. The Irish, once fully subjected, [ought] to be forbidden the use of arms; [and] meanwhile not to be allowed to bear the axe. [They ought] to pay an annual tribute in gold or birds."

Giraldus's Third Book tells how he found and translated the Prophecies of Merlin of Celidon.

When John became King of England, Giraldus sent him a copy of his Topographia and Expugnacio, with a Proem or Dedicatory Letter printed in the Rolls edition, v. 405-411. It reminds John of Ireland, exhorts him not to forget it, the Golden Isle, in favour of England, the Silver one; says it will form a kingdom for one of his sons; warns him that he must leave no danger behind him in Ireland when he goes to recover the foreign possessions he has lost; calls on him to fulfil Henry II's pledges to Pope Adrian, that is, to exalt the Church in Ireland and pay Peter's pence; instances God's vengeance on the non-keeping of these pledges; says how miserable the state of the Irish Church is; and advises John to take an annual tribute of gold, birds, or trees, from the Irish in token of subjection. Lastly, Giraldus asks that a scholar may translate his books into French; gives Walter Map's opinion on his own talk and Giraldus's writings; and says that he (Giraldus) is now old, and 'desires only God's favour and the appreciation of his labours by posterity.'

pp. 144-5, lines 9-2 from foot. The side-note and Latin in the Rolls edition, v. 392, are:

Prevalence of lawsuits.

Praeterea, quamquam hostilitatis instante procella, armatae militiae tempus ingruerit, non togatae, tanta tamen civilium causarum urgebat importunitas, ut miles veteranus non tam hoste foris, quam intus foro vexaretur.

As to the state of Ireland in 1515, see the document printed in my *Ballads from MSS*. (Ballad Soc.), p. 38-40.

GLOSSARY

(MAINLY)

BY THOMAS AUSTIN.

- & (and), an, a, 2/3, 116/7; & noon, anon, 72/18.
- **A**, prep. on, 12/17, 16/35; in, 44/8; by, 66/2.
- Abate, vb. flutter the wings, 56/32. Used like *Bate*.
- Aboue, *adv.* above, he was all a., had the upper hand, 120/3; abouen, 116/27; abow, 117/26, 121/3.
- Abydynge, sb. expectation, 111/33.
- Abydynge, vb. a. aftyr ham, waiting for them, 124/28.
- Adde, vb. had, 68/2.
- A-fryght, pp. frightened, afraid, 114/ 22.
- Agryse, pp. terrified, 100/2.
- **Agylte**, *vb.* sin, 88/1.
- Aleueth, num. adj. eleven, 118/14. See opposite page.
- Allerformest, foremost of all, 50/24; alther-formyst, 51/24.
- Allerleste, least of all, 146/28; alltherleste, 147/28.
- Aller-next, next of all, 12/33; althernexte, 13/34.
- Allience, sb. alliance, allies, 73/27, 87/8.
- Allyees, sb. allies, 72/27. Fr. alliés.
- Alonge, adv. always, 54/29.
- Alout, adv. all out, or ? aloud, 104/12.
- Althyr, 101/3,? either.
- Aly, adj. holy, 42/36.
- Amaied, pp. amayed, dismayed, 12/16; amayed, 16/31, 20/33, 56/5.

- Amonneschyd, vb. admonished, warned, 57/13; amonessed, 93/10; amonested, 56/13, 92/10.
- An, prep.on: an-heghe, on high, 112/34, an-hey, 113/34; an-hond, in hand, 74/17; an-hors, on horseback, 58/25, 100/28; an Iresshe, in Irish, 116/33.
- Anguysshes, sb. anguishes, anxieties, 96/13; angwyschis, 97/13.
- Anguysshous, adj. anxious, 104/8. O.Fr. anguissus.
- Anone ryght, adv. straightway, 148/ 22; anoone-ryght, 82/2.
- Aplesid, pp. a. of, pleased with, 37/35.
- Ar, pron. their, 8/17. See Har.
- Ar, conj. ere, 8/9, 22/23, 74/34; are, before, 9/10; before, 58/10.
- Ared, vb. tell, declare, 97/25; arede, 96/26.
- Arere, vb. lift up, stir up, 22/1; set right, heal, restore, 44/5; restore, rebuild, 106/9; areren, raise, 44/15; arered, raised, 30/16; arrere, 23/1.
- Arew, arow, in a row, 71/13; a rewe, 70/13.
- Argh, adj. timid, cowardly, 16/30, 114/6 (feinte, 115/6)¹.
- Argly, adv. timidly, in a cowardly way, 16/23 (fently, 17/23)¹.
- Arreden, vb. eared, ploughed, cultivated, 128/7; Erredyn, 129/7.
- Artrow, sb. overtrow, mistrust, suspicion, 133/13; ortrow, 132/14.

¹ In all old words like *argh*, *arghly*, the reader should look on the opposite page for the Rawlinson MS. equivalent, which is generally later, the for the Dublin ar[y]ved, 24/34, the Rawlinson has *londide*.

- **Aryse**, vb. arise, rebel, 132/5; arryse, 133.
- Aryued, vb. arrived, landed, 24/34.
- As, conj. for ac, but, 4/2.
- Asquynt, adv. asquint, aslant, obliquely, 94/20.
- Assemble, vb. join battle, 24/15, 30/26.
- Assembly, vb. assemble, 64/5.
- Asseth, sb. satisfaction, penance, 86/23.
- Astage, sb. hostage, 24/23.
- Astryf, *adv.* astrife, emulously, with rivalry, 50/26.
- Atene, vb. vex, irritate, 38/24.
- Ather, conj. either, or, 100/3. Note pronunciation.
- A thre, in three parts, 104/26; at thre, 67/19.
- Attyre, sb. venom, 20/23, 102/27, 114/2.
- Auctorice, *vb.* legalise, set in authority, 107/27 (avaunce, 106/27).
- Aurel, sb. April, 77/28; auril, 76/28.
- A-waitede, vb. watcht, expected, 2/19.
- Aweyward, adv. awayward, off the land, *i.e.* westwardly, 66/33; away, 130/19.
- Awreke, vb. a. hym, awreak himself, avenge himself, 4/5.
- A yere, adv. yearly, 66/2.
- Ayeyne, prep. against, on the approach of, 130/2; adv. again, 130/3.
- Ayeyns, prep. against, to meet, 54/13. Ayse, sb. ease, 148/1.
- Bad, vb. prayed, 28/11.
- Baghel, sb. bagle, crosier, 122/13, 123/12; baghell, 122/12. L. baculum.
- Bale, sb. sorrow, evil, 20/24.

Baret, sb. barrat, strife, battle, 146/23. Barnen, vb. burnt, 54/4.

- Battos ch hats sticks staves 144
- Battes, sb. bats, sticks, staves, 144/28; battis, 145/31.
- Becomlyche, *adj.* becoming, comely, 76/14; becomly, 102/20; becumliche, 54/24.
- Becryed, vb. cryed to, called on, 30/32, 46/20.
- Begetes, sb. begets, gains, 81/15; beyetes, 80/15.
- Begynnyge, vb. begin, 54/21.
- Be-heght, pp. promised, 40/9; be-het,

vb. promised, 18/34; behete, 28/19, 114/29.

Behoud, sb. behoof, benefit, 112/30.

- Behowaybyll, *adj.* behovable, need-ful, suitable, 121/4; covenable, D.
- Belad, pp. narrow b., treated them straitly or hardly, 40/21; bilad hym, led him, lived, 2/9; hard biladde, vb. treated hardly, 2/6; bylad, 41/22; by-ladde, conducted, bore, 54/12.
- Beleft, vb. remained, 118/14; pp. remaining, left, 58/10.
- Belokene, pp. shutin, 50/12; belokken, 51/12. See Belouke, N. E. D.
- Belyggynge, vb. beleaguing, beleaguering, 104/5.
- Be-name, vb. forbad, 31/9; be-nomen, pp. taken away, 60/34; byname, deprive of, 100/9.
- Berewid, vb. bereft of, 45/5; berewys, bereave, *imper.*, 35/10.

Berre, vb. bear, 145/2.

- Besech, vb. beseek, try to get, cast at, show to, 110/30 (malyngne agaynys, 111/30).
- Besete, vb. beset, blockade, 48/16: pp. set, possest, 102/19; besette, 103/19.
- Be-taght, vb. betook, gave, committed, entrusted, 86/14.

Be-tak, vb. accompanyed, 20/18; betake, 21/18; betaken, settled, arranged, 72/31; betoke, entrusted to, 108/27.

- Betheght, vb. betook, gave to, 92/11; betoke, 93/11.
- Bethwene, prep. between, 10/12.
- Blote, adj. soft, marshy, wet, 122/3.
- Blywe, adv. belive, quickly, 29/30.
- Bolnys, sb. boldness, 111/35.
- Bolthenys, sb. boldness, 75/15.
- Bostious, adj. rough, boisterous, 149/ 17; boustyous, 148/17.

Bot, adj. both, 106/12.

- Bot, conj. but, unless, 68/13, 106/12; bot yf, unless, 78/30.
- Both, conj. but, 14/34, 22/7, 32/25, 50/4; bott, 22/32; bot, 106/12.
- Boxome, adj. obedient, loyal, non-rebellious, 32/29.

Boxom-fastines, sb. buxomfastness

firm obedience, 62/18; buxumfastnys, 63/18.

- Branden, vb. burnt, 14/24; brandyn, 15; branten, 120/33.
- Brouken, vb. brook, enjoy, hold, 34/13. Buryles, sb. buryels, burials, graves,
- 37/21; (pute, pits, 36/18).
- Buttellerie, sb. butlery, buttery, 62/27. O. Fr. bouteillerie.
- By, vb. be, 106/15.
- By, prep. about, near, 15/6; by so, on these terms, 24/23; by forward, by agreement, 74/9; by-halues, besides, aside, 74/24; by so that, on the terms that, 24/23.
- Bygger, sb. buyer, 40/2, 7.
- Byled, vb. built, 128/10.
- Bynyn, vb. benime, take away, 68/22.
- Byssy, adj. busy, 99/18.
- Byth, vb. beeth, are, 33/26.
- Cabilys, sb. cables, 13/12.
- Calange, sb. challenge, claim, 21/1. O. Fr. Calanger.
- Campled, vb. wrangled, contended, fought, 74/33; camplid, 75/33.
- Camplynges, sb. wranglings, contests, battles, 126/13.
- Candrede, sb. cantred, hundred, 56/21; cantred, 8/19, 12/33; a Cantrede is 'an hundret toun lond' (100 townlands or townships), 124/2.
- Castel, vb. castle, fortify, 127/22; castely, 126/22; casteled, 128/3.
- Cee, sb. see: Cee churche, Cathedral, 37/31.
- Chamfaste, adj. shamefast, 76/13.
- Chase, pp. chosen, 124/12.
- Cheffar, sb. trade, 12/7.
- Chek-toth, sb. cheek-tooth, grinder, double tooth, 108/8.
- Chepmen, sb. chapmen, 38/33.
- Cheuetayn, sb. chieftain, 26/11.
- Chippe, sb. ship, 13/13; chippis, ships, 13/6.
- Chippmen, sb. shipmen, 13/10.
- Churchey, sb. churchyard, 71/26; church-hay, 63/32.
- Clene, adv. clean, quite, entirely, 146/7.
- Clenly, adv. cleanly, quite, wholly, 121/3, 145/15; clenlych, 120/3.
- Clepynge, sb. calling, call, 76/2.

- Clewe, vb. cleft, clave, 31/34, 71/32. Clos, sb. close, enclosed land, 10/5.
- Come, sb. arrival, coming, 108/15,
- 120/30; comys, 109/15. Comerous, adj. cumbrous, difficult to
- pass, 54/8.
- **Comynly**, *adv.* in common, together, 34/33, 38/30.
- Condicones, sb. 125/15; theves, 124/15.
- Conquestre, sb. conquest, 56/22. O. Fr.
- Constytucions, sb. constitutions, laws, 64/26.
- Cornelis, sb. crenelles, battlements, 16/31.
- Corpus domini, sb. mass-wafer, 52/23.
- Coste, sb. purpose (R.), 68/4, 74/17.
- Costes, sb. coasting-vessels?, 80/5.
- Croice, sb. cross, 36/29; cros, 37/29. O. Fr. crois.
- Croun, sb. crown of the head, 42/27; croune, 42/24.
- Culuertnesse, sb. falseness, villainy, 126/31.
- Cytteyns, sb. citizens, 122/27. O. Fr. citeien; citayn.
- Dawes, sb. days, out of d = out of life, 34/10, 76/4.
- Defended, vb. = defendeth, let us defend, *imper.*, 20/28.
- Defeuly, vb. defoul, tread under foot, 35/29; defouly, 34/29.
- Dele, sb. deal, part, 62/21.
- Deled, vb. dealt, divided, 104/25.
- Delycion, ? sb. daintiness, 98/13.
- Delycious, adj. delicate, dainty, 99/14.
- Demyd, pp. deemed, doomed, sentenced, 35/15.
- Dennysh, 46/17; Danish.
- Derne, adj. hidden, 18/30, 114/22.
- Dernely, adv. secretly, privily, 78/8.
- **Derward**, *adj*. dearworth, precious, 110/34; derwarthest, most valuable, 36/25.
- Destrued, pp. destroyed, 106/10.
- Deue, adj. deaf, 44/13.
- Deynously, adv. disdainfully, 72/3.
- Didden, dydde, vb. See Do.
- Do, vb. put, 30/6, 38/34, 94/16; turn, 76/6; done hym on, set him on, 100/3; didde, *past t.* turned, 16/31; didden, set, 10/1; dydde, set, 70/7.-

- Dobbe, vb. dub, 94/13.
- Dome, sb. judgment, 34/14.
- Dotous, adj. doubtful, uncertain, 86/ 17; doutos, 87/17; doutouse, 24/13.
- Doute, vb. fear, 24/15.
- Drawen, vb. protract, lead, 50/4.
- Drodlyche, *adj.* dreadly, dreadful, terrible, 114/9.
- Drent, vb. drowned, 32/5.
- Durke, adj. dark, 50/9.
- Durknesse, sb. darkness, 50/10.
- Durre, sb. door, 42/22.
- Dyd, vb. set, placed, 74/29. See Do.
- Dynt, sb. dint, stroke, 46/17.
- Dysheryted, vb. 40/20; disinherited. D for th, 16/34.
- Day, pron. they, 10/19, 12/21, 24/10.
- **Drogh**, prep. through, 12/24, 14/8, 18/9, 22/7.
- I-Drow, pp. thrown, 18/1.
- **Dynge**, *sb*. thing, 88/27.
- Eche, vb. increase, 146/4.
- Edwyte, vb. reproved, twitted, rebuked, 60/9.
- Eft, adv. after, 82/13, 88/26, 90/1 efte, 108/29.
- Elde, sb. eld, age, 58/30.
- Eldren, (adj.)? sb. forefathers' (or ancestral), 38/17; eldryñ, 39/17.
- Eldrene, sb. ancestors, 28/6, 7; eldryn, 29/6, 7.
- Elf (fare), 17/13; helf (fare), 16/14; elves' doings.
- Eme, sb. eam, nephew, 31/14, 73/35; emys, 15/33, 101/15.
- Enchesoun, sb. occasion, cause, 88/2, 20/16.
- Encombrement, sb. encumberment, obstruction, annoyance, harm, 22/13.
- Eneche, *vb.* (! increase) ineche, implant, 92/1.
- Engyn, sb. art, contrivance, 18/28.
- Ense, sb. ends, 80/29.
- Entre, sb. entry, 54/6; entrest, 55/7.
- Entrodyte, vb. interdict, lay under interdict, 68/15.
- Enuy, sb. envy, 20/19.
- Enuyouse, adj. envyous, 114/6; envyouse, emulous, 100/2.
- Er, adv. ere, before, 120/29.
- Erne, vb. earn, mourn, 34/28.

Erne, sb. eagle, 114/18. Ers, sb. ears, 15/24. Erthe-weyes, sb. ways under ground, 19/30. Erth-hous, sb. underground dwelling, 120/31. Estren, adj. eastern, east, 28/27. Ette, vb. ate, 89/22. Eunynge, sb. evening, equal, peer, 54/19. Evyncrystyñ, sb. fellow - christian. 39/11, 67/14. Exstymacioun, sb. suspicion, 129/14. O. Fr. exstimation. Eygne, sb. eyes, 97/17. Facon, sb. falcon, 58/4; faucoun gentel, 56/30. Fale, adj. fele, many, 74/10, 86/4. Falthyr, sb. fautors, favorers, partisans, 79/7. Fr. fauteur. Fantstones, sb. fontstones, stone fonts, 64/33; fantstonys, 65. Farcostes, sb. far-coasters?, 80/5, 81/5. Fawes, sb. falls ?, heavy things dropt, 96/2; fawis, 97/2. Febelier, adj. more feeble, 69/5. Fele, adj. many, 16/10. Felony, sb. villany, 102/3. ffer, adv. f. within-yn nyght, far into the night, 16/9. Ford, sb. host, army, 14/5. Ferde, sb. fear, 17/14. Ferdnesse, sb. fear, fright, 20/29, 38/27. Ferly, adj. strange, 16/29. Ferly, adv. wonderfully?, 16/12. Fersly, adv. fiercely, 17/11. Ferth, num. adj. fourth, 118/19. Festnen, vb. make firm, restore, 44/14. Feynte, adj. faint, idle, 115/6. Feyre, adv. far, 50/34. Fikyllid, vb. temporised, 145/9. Fleted, vb. floated, 116/26. Fletes, sb. fleets, 80/9; flittes, 81/9; flot, 126/23; flytte, 127/23. Fleysly, adj. fleshly, fleshy, 100/1. Flittes, sb. See Fletes. Flote, sb. fleet, herd of swine, 74/1. Flowen, vb. fled, 96/21. Fobler, adj. feebler, 68/6.

Foderes, sb. deceivers, 148/3.

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- Folk, adj. ? for foble, feeble, 50/15.
- Folke-mele, indiscriminately, 36/3.
- Foolrede, sb. fool's counsel, foolery, folly, 68/20; fooly, 69.
- Foot-falle, vb. prostrate oneself, 62/18.
- For, conj. in order that, 104/24.
- Forcleue, vb. cleft, 58/2; for-clew, 59/2.
- Fore-lete, vb. let go, 68/29.
- For-hold, pp. withheld, kept unburied, 108/14.
- Forlese, vb. forelost, lost, 54/11.
- Formane, sb. leader, 36/1; formene, front ranks, 30/33.
- Forme, adj. first, 64/15; formest, super., 50/28; formyst, 51.
- Forshape, pp. misshapen, 130/25.

Forsoke, vb. renounce, refuse, decline, 4/13, 78/17; for-sok, 72/16.

- Forsoken, vb. declined, 104/12.
- Forswely, rb. swallow up, 58/27.
- Fort, conj. till, 84/27, 126/11.
- Fortelet, sb. fortlet, 116/6.
- Forth, (before 'with ') adv. forthwith, 20/5, 90/20, 104/32.
- For-pane, conj. Nat f. notwithstanding, 4/1.
- For-they, conj. therefore, 73/22; ffor-thy, 72/23.
- Forthmost, adj. foremost, 16/4.
- Forume, *sb.* form, 39/12.
- Forwarde, sb. bargain, 10/12; agreement, 74/9, 108/30; forward-makynge, m. of agreements, 128/9.
- Fourdyr, adv. further, 15/25.
- Franchise, sb. freedom, 20/15.
- Fresly, adv. fiercely, 14/12, 35/34; fressely, 81/9.
- Frightnes, sb. fright, 16/15, 26.
- Fryst, num. first, 17/4, 31/33.
- Fyf, num. adj. five, 62/21; fywe, 63/ 21.
- Fylthed(e), sb. filthhead, filthiness, 64/6, 65/6.
- Fyne, sb. fine, 66/10.
- Galosis, sb. gallows, 35/16.
- Galyotz, sb. pirates ?, 22/32.
- Garnesyd, pp. garnished, fortified, 51/1. Fr. garnir.
- Gentil, sb. gentry, set, 101/17.
- Gentryce, sb. set, clan, 112/2.

- Gentrye, sb. gentry, 100/18.
- Gestes, *sb.* deeds, 120/10.
- Gettynges, sb. gettings, gain, plunder, 26/34.
- Girsliche, adv. terribly, 14/22 (? adj.).
- Good, sb. goods, 54/5.
- Grad, vb. cried out, 4/1.
- Greped, vb. griped, gripped, 126/26.
- Grewid, vb. grieved, pained, 109/9; grewid, pp. 39/25.
- Grymly, adj. dreadful, terrible, 59/13. Gylte, sb. fault, 40/8.
- Gyued, vb. gyved, fettered, 60/10; gywid, 61/10.
- Half, sb. side; ethers h., either side, 8/19; euerich h., every side, 4/16; euche h., each side, 5/18; hys h., his side, 24/32; oou h., one side, 22/25; a south h., on the south side, 30/16; on his moler half, on his mother's side, 8/15; halue, pl. 100/21.
- Halte, vb. held, 64/10; holte, hold, 64/11.
- Halowene, sb. saints, 122/1; halwene, 44/11.
- Hame, pron. them, 4/12.
- Hamlynge, adj. ambling, 89/21.
- Hand, sb. other h., second hand, 78/17.
- Har, pron. their, 9/17, 10/20, 74/31, 120/30; hare, 31/14; theirs, 32/15.
- Har, adv. ere, sooner.
- Hard, pp. heard, 29/32.
- Hardynes, sb. hardiness, boldness, 110/35.
- Haris, pron. theirs, 49/33; hars, 48/34.
- Hauteyne, adj. haughty, 76/16. O. Fr. hautain.
- Haw, vb. have, 34/7; hawydyn, had, 27/7.
- Haye, sb. hay, haw, churchyard, 63/ 32; 62/32.
- Hedid, pp. headed, beheaded, 151/8.
- Heed, sb. ? head, 78/33; heeddes, heads, princes ?, 34/28.
- Heere, sb. hair, hair-cloth, 42/5; here, 43/5.
- Hegh, vb. hight ('was callid'), 92/23.
- Hegheste, adj. highest ('host' 12/33), 13/33.
- Heghlygh, adv. highly, 90/25.
- Helf far, 16/14, sb. elves' doing.

- Helle, vb. helde, 2/24.
- Hellen, vb. conceal, hide, 78/1.
- Hent, vb. received, 10/35; henten, grasp, seize, 56/33, 80/26.
- Herbrowe, vb. harbour, seek shelter, 66/6.
- Here, pron. their, 18/29.
- Here, adv. here, 32/10.
- Herly, adv. early, 70/7.
- Herne, sb. nook, corner, 116/7.
- Herrer, *sb.* herre, lord, 116/30.
- Herth, sb. heart, 2/8, 22/28, 50/20.
- Herthly, adj. earthly, 66/4.
- Hertly, adv. heartily, courageously, 52/2; hertely, 53/2.
- Het, vb. was named, 2/3.
- Heudes, sb. heads, 14/17.
- Hey, adj. high, 57/29.
- Heye, sb. 70/27. See Church-hey.
- Heyth, adj. high, noble, 22/32.
- Hite, pron. it, 25/20.
- Hoft-sithes, adv. oftentimes, 16/14.
- Hold, adj. whole, faithful, 60/14; holde, whole, healthy, 59/24.
- Honward, adv. take h., go home, 86/3. Hoped, vb. looked to, trusted in, had confidence in, 70/22.
- Horynesse, sb. filthiness, 66/27. Comp. horowe, foul, used by Chaucer, pronounced horry in Devon. H.
- Host, sb. army, 16/10, 11, 104/26, 144/2.
- Host, adj.? hest, hext, highest, largest, 12/32.
- Hostyngis, sb. expeditions, armies, 17/14.
- Hungrod, adj. hungered, hungry, 116/8.
- Hurtyng, sb. hurting, hurt, 16/34.

Hym, pron. him; hym priddesom, comp. Gr. αὐτὸs τρίτοs, 14/1, 32/20.

- Hyrynge, adj. hireling, waged, 22/31.
- Iappynge, sb. japing, jesting, 54/26; Iaypynge, 55/27.
- I-bansheth, pp. banished, 24/1; y-banshet, 25/1.
- I-bydde, pp. abided, stayd, 62/8.
- I-corne, pp. chosen, 22/18.
- I-deleth, pp. dealt, divided, 66/19.
- I-destrued, pp. destroyed, 84/32.
- I-dobbed, pp. dubbed, 94/13.

- I-drow, pp. thrown, d = th, 18/1.
- I-dyght, pp. prepared, 58/19.
- I-endeth, pp. ended, 22/16.
- I-flow, pp. fled, 46/27.
- I-fulled, pp. baptized, 64/33; yfullid, 65/33.
- I-garnset, pp. garnished, fortified, 50/1.
- I-hard, pp. heard, 28/32.
- **I-heded**, *pp*. beheaded, 150/7.
- I-helled, pp. iheled, covered, 10/21.
- I-herberged, pp. filled, stowed, 108/ 34; I-herbergide, 109/34.
- I-herberowide, pp. harboured, sheltered, 63/31; I-horberowed, 62/31.
- **I-hodet**, *pp*. hooded, 132/28.
- I-hokred, pp. insulted, 140/16.
- **I-horied**, *pp*. defiled, 138/32.
- I-hosted, pp. hosted, quartered, 16/9.
- I-lacet, pp. laced, 10/17.
- Illy, adv. in an ill way, 78/7.
- **Ilyche**, *adv.* alike, 66/19.
- I-meygnet, *pp.* mingled, 102/27.
- Inamliche, *adv.* namely, especially, 16/28.
- In-leyde, pp. laid in, 37/21.
- **I-primseined**, *pp*. catechized, 64/32, 65/32.
- I-quenyted, pp. pleased, 36/35.
- I-retted, pp. charged with, 68/26.
- I-roted, pp. rooted, 20/27, 112/3, 148/18.
- I-sacred, pp. sacred, consecrated, 132/ 28.
- I-scomfyte, pp. discomfited, 116/20.
- I-shent, pp. ruined, 68/28, 38/16.
- I-shwerne, pp. sworn, 24/26.
- I-slawe, pp. slain, 80/13.
- I-stablet, pp. established, 64/27.
- I-storbet, pp. disturbed, 124/34.
- I-suywed, pp. issued, shot, 116/9.
- **I-swewed**, pp. showed, 64/12.
- I-told, pp. reckoned, 2/4.
- I-wepned, *pp*. armed, 80/11.
- I-worth, pp. become, 102/6, 148/14.
- **I-wyted**, *pp*. blamed, 8/13.
- Kappe, sb. 46/17; lappe, R. 47/17.
 Karue, vb. k. of, cut off, 14/23.
 Kene, adj. keen, fierce, sharp, 112/33.
 Kepynge, sb. keeping, watch, guard, 58/10; kypynge, 52/9.

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- Kernel, sb. battlement, 10/28.
- Knyghten, sb. knights', 92/15.
- **Kynde**, *sb.* kind, nature; of k., by nature, naturally, 18/27; Throgh k. of Troy, Through our Trojan origin, 22/26.
- Kynde, adj. natural, own, 6/27.
- Kyndly, adj. kindly, natural, 76/16.
- Kyndly, adv. kindly, naturally, by birth, 22/28; kyndlych, 22/24.
- Kynly, adv. by kin, by birth, 23/24. See Kyndly.
- Laked, vb. enjoyd, 132/29; lakyd, 133/29.
- Large, adj. bounteous, generous, 25/2; largh, 24/1.
- Laser, sb. lazar, leper, 44/13.
- Lastes, sb. faults, deceits, 102/21.
- Latest, adj. last in place, 52/1.
- Lede, adj. folk, 4/24; leed, 64/18.
- Lef, adj. dear, 108/8; lefe, 111/34.
- Lered, adj. learned, 42/2; lerid, 43/2.
- Leth, vb. let, hindered, 52/7; leth, allowed, causd, 64/5.
- Lette, sb. let, hindrance, 94/5.
- Leue, adj. dear, 108/6.
- Leue, vb. leave, omit, 108/10.
- Leuet, vb. loved, 118/35.
- Lewed, *adj.* lewd, uneducated, vulgar, 42/2; lewid, 43/2.
- Lewidly, adv. lewdly, wickedly, 47/30.
- Leyden, vb. leyden on, laid on, attacked, 96/2; leydyn, 97/2.
- Lif, adj. lief, pleasing, 8/22.
- Lodderly, adv. wickedly, 22/33.
- **Lodesman***e*, *sb*. pilot, leader, 22/21; 36/28.
- Loge, sb. lodge, wattled hut, 10/3.
- Loghe, adj. low, short, 88/10.
- Loly, adj. grim, terrible, 40/8, 58/12.
- Lolych, adj. lovely, affable, 103/18; louelyche, 102/18.
- Lome, adv. often, frequently, 44/36.
- Lost, sb. loss, 112/23; loste, 146/12; lostes, 8/2; lostis, 97/24; Lostys, 9/2.
- Loth, adj. hateful, unpleasant, 14/6, 30/19.
- Lotles, adj. buxom, obedient, 114/4.
- Lout, vb. l. ham, lout themselves, do obeisance, 44/26.
- Lowe, sb. love, 131/14.

Lych, sb. like, body, 88/26; lyche, 89.

- Lyddere, adj. lither, bad, wicked, 44/6, 68/7; lyder, 32/14.
- Lyddyrly, *adv.* litherly, wickedly, 46/ 30.
- Lyddernysse, sb. litherness, wickednesse, 76/29.
- Lygne, adj. gentle?, 102/17.
- Lyket, vb. was liked, pleasd, 34/14.
- Lyme, sb. limit, bond ?, 62/18.
- Lyue, sb. life, 82/32.
- Manequelleres, sb. mankillers, 125/16.
- Maner, sb. manner; many m. metes, many kind of meats, 62/28; manners, politeness, 22/10.
- Mane-shipe, sb. manship, courtesy, 4/33; manshype, 70/12.
- Manly, adv. in a manly way, 24/6.
- Manred, sb. homage, 56/20.
- Man-shyply, adv. worshipfully, reverently, 66/22.
- Manslaghtres, sb. manslaughterers, 124/16.
- Mansynge, sb. cursing, excommunication, 120/17.
- Marche, sb. march, border, 72/18; 146/31.
- Mayny, sb. 115/22. See Meignè.
- Me, pron. men (comp. German man), one, they, 16/5, 24/14, 32/27, 42/ 10, 70/33.
- Meet-yeuer, sb. meat-giver, 54/25; met-yeuer, 112/36. Comp. metegavel.
- Meignà, sb. household troops, 22/18; menny, 79/28; mennye, 79/13; meny, 115/10; meygnees, 66/5; meyne, 26/8; meynne, 39/5; meyngne, 27/9. O. Fr. meignee, meyne.
- Mekely, adv. humbly, kindly, 48/2.
- Membres, sb. manly m., manly members, privy parts, 44/18.
- Merres, sb. meres, boundaries, 38/17.
- Meste, adv. most, 42/7.
- Mesury, sb. misery, 43/15.
- Meteful, adj. moderate, 113/24. See Methefull.
- Methe, sb. moderation, 98/12.
- Methefull, adj. moderate, 112/24.
- Methelyche, adj. moderate, 70/18;

methlych, 98/28; metlych, 76/15; Neue, sb. nephew, 14/33. See eme. metlyche, 98/10; middle-sized. Neuer (ne were), vb. should never be, Mich, adj. much, large, 34/27; mich 121/18; neuere, 120/18. yuell, much or great evil, leprosy, Never no more, 48/31. 32/7. Neyght, adv. nigh, near, 74/16. Modelyng, sb. meddling, 56/18. Nobelych, noblych, adv. nobly, 35/29, Mone, sb. moan, complaint, 28/23. 34/29. Morowenynge, sb. morning, 82/21. Noon-dayes, sb. noonday, 50/32. Most, vb. must, could, 40/22. North, by n., to the north of, 70/26. Mostdele, adv. mostdeal, mostly, 16/1. Nuy, sb. noy, vexation, affliction, 90/7. Mostwhat, adv. mostly, for the most Comp. noxia. part, 88/17. Nyst, ne wist, knew not, 4/29. Nythe, sb. a nythe = at night, 72/33. Mother-church, sb. cathedral, 36/29. Motynge, sb. mooting, pleading, disputing, 144/29. O, num. one, 106/12; 00, 89/26, 106/12. Mych, adj. large, 56/29, 74/1; myche, O, prep. of, 108/34. Of, adv. off, 12/11, 14/23, 32/4, 74/32. 74/2. Myght & mayn, might & main, Oftere, adv. oftener, 54/22. 116/15. Oke, vb. ached, paind, 108/9. Mynyed, vb. reminded, warned, 74/29, Omost, omyste, adv. overmost, upper-84/25. most, 106/1, 107/1. Mys-byfelle, vb. misbefell, fell amiss, Ond, sb. hatred, malice, 110/30; onde, 124/15; mys-be-felle, 125/16. 111/30. Mysdone, vb. misdo, 101/32. Onful, adj. ondfull, malicious, 102/24; Myse-lyckenys, sb. mislikeness, strange onfull, 103/24. shape (a wolf-woman), 131/25. Onper, prep. under, 6/31. Myssayse, sb. misease, 40/5. O. Fr. Opyn, adj. open, uncovered, 42/22. mesaise. Ordeynly, adv. well o. = in good order, Myssayse, adj. miseased, 114/23; 46/12. myssaysid, 115/22. Ortrow, sb. overtrow, mistrust, suspicion, 128/14, 132/14; artrow, 133. Ost, adj. burnt ?, 50/2. Na, adv. not, 112/2. Name, sb. name, 6/33. Ostmen, sb. hostmen, soldiers, 82/23. Ostynge, sb. hosting, expedition, 16/14; Name, vb. took, 6/12; name, 2/22, 23; n. an hand, 72/24; namen, 80/4; see Hostyngis. n. sekernesse, took surety, 74/8. Oper, conj. other, or, 24/6. Other, adj. second, 50/29, 76/12, 88/8. Namely, adv. especially, 52/17, 66/4. Namy, vb. name, 130/10. Ouerd[r]ede, vb. ouerdrede, over-Narow, adv. narrowly, closely, 40/21; dreaded, 14/20. narowe, 4/19; narrow, 41/22, 97/10. Ouergoste, vb. goest beyond, 38/17. Naroweis, narrow ways, 81/26. Ouer-hand, sb. upperhand, superiority, Nas, vb. ne was, was not, 16/21, 26/21, 34/6, 50/11, 106/3, 118/23. 72/16, 114/8. Ouersaille, vb. sail over, upset ?, 16/12. Nat forthy, conj. notwithstanding, Ouerthrowen, vb. pass. be prostrated, nevertheless, 76/20, 77/22. 62/21. Nathales, conj. nevertheless, 78/10. Ouer-truste, sb. overboldness, presump-Neb, sb. (? nose), face, vultus, 98/11. tion, 22/10. Comp. Overhope. Neght, adv. nigh, nearly, 26/13. Oure, pron. ours, 24/7, 96/15. Nembre, sb. number, 101/22; nenbre, Out-chese, vb. choose out, 34/8. 100/23.Out-commyn, adj. come from foreign Ner, vb. ne were, were not, 30/31, parts, 12/29; out-comen, 18/5. 100/8. Out-tak, pp. outtaken, except, 122/8.

- Owne, adj. = own house, tent, 62/31. Owre, prep. over, 130/2. Ows, pron. us, 22/3, 30.
- Paas, sb. pass, 104/22; pas, 104/25; paace, 55/9.
- Panetrye, sb. pantry, 62/27. Fr. paneterie.
- Pany, sb. penny, 92/5.
- Paralys, adj. paralysed folk, 44/14.
- Parlement, sb. conference, 6/21, 18/11, 72/31. O. Fr. parlement.
- **Party**, *sb.* part, side, 110/1.
- Party arms, arms vertically divided, 10/4.
- Pelfre, sb. pilfer, plunder, 52/8. O. Fr. pelfrer.
- **Pledynge**, *sb.* suing, 112/20.
- Plenary, adv. fully, openly, 31/27.
- Pleneden, vb. sported, 74/18; pleydyn, 75.
- Plente, sb. generosity, 102/31.
- Plete, sb. plate, 46/10.
- **Poer***e*, *sb*. power, O. Fr. 48/11.
- Postes, sb. pillars, supports, 120/6.
- **Power***e*, *sb*. forces, 2/22, 4/17.
- Prayes, sb. preys, booty, 80/1.
- Prayes-takynge, sb. taking of booty, 78/27; pray-takynge, 118/11.
- Praye, vb. prey, plunder, 80/3, 23; preedyn, plundered, 81/3.
- Presons, sb. prisoners, 54/5, 15.
- Primseine, vb. 'sign with the cross, make a catechumen,' 64/32.
- Privisant, adj. foreseeing ?, 80/28.
- Prout, prowt, adj. proud, 22/5, 38/20.
- **Prow**, vb. prove, 85/5.
- Prutter, adj. prouder, 56/7.
- Pullid, vb. plundered, robbed, 145/9.
- Pullynge, sb. pilling, plundering, 112/ 21.
- Purueynge, adj. provident, prudent, 98/21.
- Pute, sb. pit, 36/18.
- Pylfre, sb. pilfer, plunder, pillage, 80/4, 114/24. O. Fr. pelfrer.
- Pynsynge, sb. affliction, 88/6.
- Queller, sb. killer, 44/5.
- Queme, vb. please, satisfy, 54/30, 98/15.
- Quenyntyse, queyntyse, sb. cunning, craft, 98/22, 99/22. O. Fr. quointise.

- Quethene, vb. overcome R., 44/15.
- Queynt, *adj.* cunning, sly, wily, 26/1, 98/21; quent, 27/1; queynth, 128/2. Quyte, *adj.* quit, clear, free, 96/20.
- Quytten, pp. free, clean away, 80/ 27.
- Raas, sb. race, rush, 16/12.
- Radyr, adv. rather, more willingly, 7/13; earlier, before, 91/20.
- Raght, vb. raught, recked, 32/9.
- Ran, vb. r. to harme, 112/26.
- Rascayll, sb. rascal, rabble, 50/21. O. Fr. rascayle.
- Rathe, adv. soon, 24/29, 84/1; rather, sooner, 28/23, 68/14; before, 90/20, 130/4.
- Rather, adj. earlier, previous, original, 86/4, 88/2.
- Raunceoun, sb. ransom, 46/29.
- Rebuked, vb. repulsed, checked, 34/34.
- Recet, sb. refuge, harbour, 18/29, 30/28, 56/5; recette, 19/29, 31/28.
- Recheste, vb. reckest, 108/9.
- Rede, sb. counsel, 10/18, 68/33.
- Remewid, vb. removed, 147/13.
- Rere, vb. rear, raise, exalt, 46/2; rerid, took, captured, lifted, 107/30.
- Rescewyd, vb. received, 123/27.
- Reue, vb. rob, 114/3; rew, 115/3.
- Reuer, sb. riever, robber, 112/21.
- Reut, sb. ruth, pity, 8/1; reuth, 22/34, 54/18.
- Reuthful, adj. ruthful, 32/23.
- Reuynge, *sb*. rieving, plundering, 144/ 31; rewynge, 145/25; reyuynge, 145/32.
- Rewe, vb. rue, regret, 146/1.
- Robbed, vb. plundered, 80/23.
- Rodes, sb. r. crucyfyed, crucifixes, 122/1.
- Roghly, adv. r. lokynge, rough looking, 88/9.
- Row, adv. r. lokynge, rough looking, 89/9. A. S. rúw.
- Ruthlynge, sb. rattling, 16/13.
- Rychesshe, sb. riches, 96/24. Fr. richesse.
- Rygge, sb. back, 58/2.
- Ryght, vb. r. vp, raise up, 44/3; set up again, restore, 86/4.
- Ryuely, adv. especially ?, 128/12.

- Salletis, sb. sallets, light helmets, 11/24.
- Sam-crysp, adj. somewhat curled, 98/11; sam-roed, adj. somewhat ruddy, 54/27; same rede, 89/8; saunrede, 88/8. A. S. sam, half.
- Saue, vb. saw, 49/6, 146/11.
- Sawe, prep. save, except, 18/21, 54/10. Sawe, vb. save, 73/6; sawit, saved,
- 4/23.
- Schavnge, sb. change, 51/6.
- Scomfited, pp. discomfited, 117/19.
- Screwid, *adj.* shrewd, cursed, bad, evil, 69/6.
- See way, seaway (comp. highway, roadway), 80/3.
- Seke, adj. sick, 66/13.
- Sekernesse, sb. security, 74/8; syke[r]nesse, 50/7.
- Sekiritesse, sb. securities, bonds, 6/22.
- Selcouth, adj. various, 28/33; wonderful, 44/11, 120/1, 126/13.
- Selth, sb. happiness, benefit, 50/8, 92/18; success, 98/23.
- Selue, adj. same, 100/18.
- Selyly, adv. happily, 42/32.
- Semblant, glad s., 98/12; sterne s., 98/27; fayr s., 102/18; semblant, 112/36; look, countenance.
- Senne, sb. synod, 120/15.
- Senthe, *adj.* seventh, 58/30; Senfte, 59/29.
- Seysyne, sb. seisin, possession, 82/12.
- Sheldrun, sb. shields, 31/29.
- Shendshype, sb. injury, harm, 114/3; shenshipp, 115/3.
- **Sho**, *pron*. she, 4/1.
- Shorthlych, adv. shortly, presently, 114/22.
- Shroue, vb. int. confessed, 130/23.
- Shyrth, sb. shirt, 42/5.
- Sill, vb. sell, 39/34. See Syllene.
- Sitè, sb. city, 32/17, 18.
- Sithe, *sb.* times, 26/6.
- Skyer, sb. squire, 8/32, 33.
- Slaght, sb. slaughter, 14/16, 20/ 28, 116/36, 138/32.
- Slaked, vb. slacked, failed, 48/24.
- Sleghly, adv. slily, 68/3.
- Sleghtes, sb. contrivances, 128/13.
- Slegthlych, adv. craftily, 128/9; sleghtly, 144/17.

Slouedyne, vb. slew, 39/8.

- Smert, adj. smart, sharp, rough; smert lond, rough wild land, 128/29.
- Smertly, *adv.* smartly, vigorously, 104/33; smyrtly, 105/33.
- Smyth, vb. smite, 24/12; pt. smote, 106/35.
- Snel, adj. quick, active, 74/27.
- Snellych, adv. quickly, 82/3.
- Soine, *adv.* soon, 60/11.
- Soldrys, sb. shoulders, 89/11.
- Solempnelych, adv. solemnly, 90/25.
- Soth, adj. sooth, true, 54/1.
- Sortelych, adv. shortly, 93/14; Sortely, adv. shortly, 149/22.
- Sorynesse, sb. sorriness, soreness, sorrow, 110/1, 112/23.
- Spares, sb. battle-axe, 83/7; sparris, 17/12. See Sparth.
- Sparth, sb. battle-axe, 74/11, 26, 33; sparthes, 16/13.
- Spendynge, sb. spending, money, 78/27.
- Spourges, *sb.* spurge, thing to get rid of, scourge, 112/3. Comp. O. Fr. *espourger*.
- Spousbrych, sb. spousebreach, adultery, 102/23.
- Spousehede, spoushode, sb. wedded state, 64/30.
- Sproty, adj. thin, small, 54/28. Comp. Sprot, sprout, splinter.
- Stabil, vb. establish, confirm, 69/29; stable, 68/30.
- Staluarthly, *adv.* stalwartly, sturdily, 116/1.
- Stalwardnesse, sb. stalwartness, strength, sturdiness, 52/2; stalwarthnesse, 54/20.
- Sted, sb. stead, place, state, 22/35; 'state,' 23/35.
- Stordy, *adj.* sturdy, 118/33; stordyer, 116/2.
- Storkes, sb. storks, 28/24.
- Strange, adj. strong, 54/8.
- Streynth, vb. strength, strengthen, 68/30.
- Streynth, sb. strength, force, meaning, 90/29, 96/14.
- Streyntnesse, sb. strongness, strength, 94/24; streyntnys, 95/24.
- Stronge, adj. strong, stormy, 66/33.

Stronge, adv. strongly, greatly, 4/3.

Stryffly, adv. strivingly (?for 'styffly'), 26/29. See Styfly.

- Styd, sb. stead, place, 42/5; stydde, 42/6; styddes, places, 50/11.
- Styfly, adv. strongly, valiantly, 80/8, 104/31.
- Stylly, adv. stilly, in secret, 46/19, 150/12.
- Stynte, vb. stopped, 111/30; stynt, 112/30.
- Suget, adj. subject, 24/21; subyect, 26/33; subyett, 26/21. O. Fr. Suget.
- Surnesse, sb. sureness, security, 51/7.
- Surtey, swrte, sb. surety, 75/9. Fr. Såreté.
- Sybbe, sb. relation, 64/29.
- Syblynges, *adv.* kinwise, with relatives, 102/23.
- Sybrede, sb. relationship, 42/11.
- Sydlynge, adv. sidling, obliquely, 94/ 19.
- Sygge, vb. say, 54/18, 98/20.
- Sykernesse, sb. security, 50/7. See Sekernesse.
- Sykyrlychest, adv. most securely, 68/ 34.
- Syllene, vb. sell, 38/32, 40/5.
- Syller, sb. seller, 40/1.

Talent, sb. desire, wish, 6/25. Tanked, pp. thanked, 14/19. Tene, sb. tene, hatred, 4/12. **Tened**, pp. grieved, vexed, 4/3. Tethynges, sb. tithings, tithes, 66/1. Thare, conj. there = where, 82/18. Tharmes, sb. entrails, intestines, 88/4. That, adv. ? read thar, 2/24, 65/5. Thay, dem. those, 80/12, 14, 90/26, 116/3; they, the, 97/14. Theghe, conj. though, 18/27, 32/9. Ther, conj. where, 32/8, 57/30, 128/ 4; ther-to-for, adv. before, 63/29. Thewes, sb. qualities, 16/28, 90/34. Thewis, sb. thieves, 81/30. Thedynge, sb. tiding, 10/7; thythyngis, 11/7, 35/31; tythynge, 6/15. this, adj. these, 21/29. **Tho**, *conj*. when, 4/9. Tho, prep. to, 62/19. Thoght, conj. though, 15/31, 32/7.

- Tholle, vb. thole, endure, suffer, 4/20; bolled, 42/3, 118/24; tholleth, sufferd, 38/15; tholy, *inftn*. 40/5.
- Tholmode, adj. forbearing, 98/15.
- Thondred, sb. thunder, 58/28.
- porwe, ?go through with it, 28/12.
- Thre, num. a thre, in three parts, 66/20; at thre, 67/20; tre, 14/5.
- Thretynge, sb. threatening, 60/9; tretynge, 70/9.
- priddesum, adj. third, 14/1; thrydsome, 32/20; thyrdesum, 15/2.
- purleth, vb. thirleth, pierceth, 112/5.
- Thus, from t. = from this, thence, 60/15.
- Thwey, num. two, 12/35.
- To, adv. too, 54/26, 82/3.
- To, art. the, 10/27.
- Toght, vb. thought, 16/25, 18/7.
- To-hakked, vb. hackt to pieces, 82/2.
- Toke, vb. reacht (to the knee), 116/27.
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- O'Conor, Roderic, King of Connaught and Ireland, tries to raise the country against Macmorgh and the English, 18; addresses his followers, 20; comes to terms, 24; makes war on the King of Limerick, and is defeated, 26; beheads Macmorgh's son, 38; ravages Meath, 84.
- Odrone (Odroon, a territory in co. Carlow, 52), Striguil defeats a Leinster force in a pass near, 54.
- Ofolanes (Offaly, in north of the present co. Kildare), Leinster, is invaded by the English, 78.
- Okenseley, Macmurgh there, 18; Macmurgh of Okensely joins Raymond Fitz-gerald, 104.
- Olethan, 148/25.
- Omurthy, 128/25.
- Onolan, 128/24.
- O'Phelan (Olan), 30, 37.
- Ophelayn, 112.
- O'Rourke, see Rory.
- Osbern (Osborne) of Hereford, sent into Ireland, 102.
- Ossory (Kilkenny, etc., in Leinster) invaded by Macmorgh, 14, 62.

Paris, 133/8.

- Parliament (Conference) at Rorik's Hill, 74.
- Patrick, St., prophecy of, 138; his body found, 150.
- Pec, Richard de, 128/19.
- Pembroke, Henry II sails thence, 56. Phantom army terrifies the English, 16.
- Philip of Worcester, 134.
- Poitou, Earl of, Richard, son of Henry II, rebels with his brothers, 78.
- Pope: his right to all islands, 136; grants Ireland to Henry II, 136.

Rathwyldes Tower, 36.

- Rauf, son-in-law of Miles de Cogan, slain at Lismore, 124.
- Raymond Fitzhugh (hues-sone), 100.
- Raymond le Gras, see Fitz-gerald, Raymond.

Marseilles, 132/7.

- Redlesford, Walter de, kills John the Wood, 46; castle built to him, 128/ 25.
- Rehoboam: Prince John foolishly imitates him, 142.
- Richard, Earl of Poitou, son of Henry II, rebels against his father, 78; is overcome, 86.
- Richard of London is in charge of Cork, 122.
- Richard of the pek (Peak) reaches Ireland, 128/19.
- Robert de Bygaz, 130/8.
- Robert de Po(w)er, Constable of Waterford, comes to Ireland, 122.
- Roger le Poer slain, 150.
- Rolf, son of Robert Fitz-stephen, 76.
- Rorik's Hill, Conference held there with Rory, 74.
- Rory (O'Rourke), King of Meath, left by his wife, 2; marches into Leinster to avenge his shame, 4; assaults Dublin, 58; yields to Henry II, 62; has a conference with de Lacy, 72; treacherously attacks him, 74; is slain by Maurice Fitz-gerald, 76.
- Rys, son of Griffin, Prince of Wales, sets Fitz-stephen free, 8.

Salisbury, John of, 92, 130.

- Scotland, King of, taken by Henry II, 86; a Papal Legate goes to Scotland, 114.
- Shestre (Chester), Earl of, captured by Henry II, 86.
- Shynen (Shannon), borders Meath, 82; the river swum, 94; King of Connaught there, 106.

St. James, 72.

- Stevenson, see Fitz-stephen.
- Striguil, Richard, Fitz-gilbert, Earl of, agrees to aid Macmorgh, and has Leinster given him, 6; receives letters from him, 28; sends Raymond le Gras to Ireland, 30; lands at Waterford, and assaults the town, 34; captures it, and marries Macmorgh's daughter, 36; leaves a force in Dublin, 38; his description, 54; sails to England, and yields Dublin and other ports to Henry II, 56; waits at Pembroke for favourable

wind, 56; left as Viceroy in Ireland with Raymond Fitz-gerald, 78; asks help of him, and promises him his sister Basile, 84; saved by him, 84; his death, 108; burial, 110; his right to come to Ireland, 134.

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- Tachmeho, 130/7.
- Theodinus, Cardinal, comes to Normandy, to Henry II, 68.
- Troy, English sprung from, 22.
- Tuam, in Galway, occupied by the English, 122.

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Tyllagh, 128/26.

Ulster invaded by de Courci, 114.

Velletri, Archbishop Comyn consecrated at, A. D. 1182, 132.

Vivian, a Papal Legate, comes to Down, 114; holds a Synod at Dublin, 120.

Vryel, in Ulster (the present counties of Louth, Armagh, and Monahan), 114; de Courci defeated there, 118.

Wales, 6, 8.

Wallingford, Nichol, Prior of, conveys Papal Bull to Ireland, 90.

Walter, Theobald, 150/1.

- Waterford, Raymond le Gras lands near it, 30; capture by him of seventy of its inhabitants, 32; and butchery of them, 34; Earl Striguil lands there, 34; assault of it by him, and capture of it, 34, 36; the Irish slay the English there, 84; Council of Irish clergy gathered there, 90; its walls, 116.
- Weysford (Wexford) men threaten to kill Fitz-stephen, 54; Henry II sails thence to England, 70; Raymond lands there, 84.
- Weysford (Wexford), Bishop of, deceives the English, 52.
- Wicklow, Castle, 112; Wykynlo, 92.
- Worcester, Philip of, takes Hugh de Laci's post, and is curst by the Irish, 134-



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